ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

THE

POURTRAICTURE

OF

HIS SACRED

MAJESTY

IN HIS

SOLITUDES

AND

SUFFERINGS.

ROM. VIII.

More than Conqueror, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium eſt.

LONDON,
Printed by *R. Norton* for *Richard Royſton,*
Bookſeller to His moſt Sacred Majeſty,
M DC LXXXI.

TO THE

MOST SERENE AND SACRED

MAJESTY

OF

Charles II.

BY THE GRACE OF GOD,

KING

OF GREAT *BRITAINE*,
FRANCE, AND *IRELAND*,
DEFENDER OF THE FAITH,
RESTORER OF THE CHURCH'S LIBERTY,
THE NATION'S PEACE;
Son and Heir of CHARLES I.

THESE MEDITATIONS OF A PIOUS SOUL,
DICTATES OF A ROYAL WISDOM,
COUNSELS OF A PEACEFUL SPIRIT,
Compos'd by CHARLES the *Martyr*

HUMBLY DEDICATETH
YOUR MAJESTIES
Most Devoted
Subject and Servant,

R. Royston.

Charles II.

THE RESTORATION OF THE

KING

OF

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND,

AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY,

OF THE NATION, PEOPLE,

And Royal Line of CHARLES I.

BY A NOBLE SOUL,

BY TALENTS OF A ROYAL WISDOM,

AND BY AN UNDAUNTED AND PEACEFUL SPIRIT.

CHARLES STUART, the Martyr

KING,

AND

TRULY MEDIATETH

FOR

HIS SOULE MAJESTIES

Most Devoted

Subject and Servant,

R. Royston.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all Our loving Subjects of what Degree, Condition or Quality ſoever within Our Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, or any other of Our Dominions, greeting. Whereas We have received ſufficient Teſtimony of the Fidelity and Loyalty of Our Servant *Richard Royſton* of Our City of *London*, Bookſeller, and of the great Loſſes and Troubles he hath ſuſtained for his Faithfulneſs to Our Royal Father of bleſſed Memory, and Our Self, in the Printing and Publiſhing of many Meſſages and Papers of Our ſaid Bleſſed Father, and more eſpecially in the moſt Excellent Meditations and Soliloquies by the name of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. Know ye, That it is Our Royal Will and Pleaſure, and We do by theſe Preſents Grant unto the ſaid *Richard Royſton*, his Executors, Adminiſtrators and Aſſigns, the ſole Printing and Publiſhing of the Book Intituled *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*, and of all or any other the Works of Our ſaid Royal Fa-

ther, in any Volume or Volumes whatſoever. And to the intent that none of our loving Subjects may be ignorant of this Our Royal pleaſure, or do preſume to Print or cauſe to be Printed, Vended or put to Sale the ſaid Book, Intituled *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*, or any part of the ſaid Works of our ſaid Royal Father, within theſe Our Realms or Dominions, or any of them, whether Printed within theſe Our Dominions, or Imported from Foreign parts contrary to Our expreſs pleaſure herein declared, without the Licence and conſent of the ſaid *Richard Royſton*, his Executors, Adminiſtrators or Aſſigns, We Will and Command the Maſter and Wardens of the Society of Stationers of Our City of *London*, to enter the ſaid Books and Papers into their Regiſtry for the ſaid *Richard Royſton*, and for his ſole uſe and advantage, That ſo all the Members of their Society, and Printers of Our ſaid City, and other perſons whatſoever may yield obedience thereunto accordingly. And We do by theſe Our Letters Patents require the like obedience be yielded unto this Our Will and Pleaſure by the ſeveral Printers and Bookſellers of Our Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and Our Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and every of them. And if any Bookſeller or Printer, or other Perſon whomſoever, within theſe Our Dominions, do hereafter preſume to do any thing contra-

ry

ry to the true intent and meaning of theſe Our Letters: We Will and Command, That the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm, and the penalties thereby impoſed upon ſuch perſons as do Imprint, Import, Vend or put to Sale unlicenſed or prohibited Books be put in Execution againſt ſuch perſon or perſons ſo offending: And the Fines, Forfeitures and Penalties to be recovered againſt them or any of them, to be imployed and diſpoſed of to ſuch uſes, intents and purpoſes, as by the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm of *England*, in ſuch Caſes is provided and directed; Any Priviledge, Cuſtom or Uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding. In witneſs, *&c.*

THE

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MAJESTY

MAJESTY in MISERY:

OR,

An Imploration to the King of Kings.

Written by his late Majesty King *CHARLES* the First of Blessed Memory, during his Captivity at *Carisbrooke* Castle, *Anno Dom.* 1648.

1 GREAT *Monarch of the World, from whose* (*Power springs*
The Potency and Power of Kings,
Record the Royal Woe, my Sufferings sings,

2 *And teach my tongue, that ever did confine*
Its faculties, in Truths Seraphick Line
To Tract the Treasons of thy Foes and mine.

3 *Nature and Law, by thy Divine Decree*
(The only Root of Righteous Royalty)
With this dim Diadem invested me.

4 *With it, the Sacred Scepter, Purple Robe,*
The Holy Unction, and the Royal Globe:
Yet am I level'd with the life of Job.

The

5 *The fierceſt Furies, that do daily tread*
Upon my Grief, my Gray Diſcrowned head,
Are thoſe, that owe my Bounty for their Bread.

6 *They raiſe a War, and Chriſten it,* The Cauſe,
Whilſt Sacrilegious hands have beſt applauſe,
Plunder, & Murder, are the Kingdoms Laws.

7 *Tyranny bears the Title of* Taxation,
Revenge and Robbery are Reformation,
Oppreſſion gains the name of Sequeſtration.

8 *My Loyal Subjects who in this bad Seaſon*
Attend me (by the Law of God and Reaſon)
They dare impeach, & puniſh for high Treaſon.

9 *Next at the Clergy, do their Furies frown,*
Pious Epiſcopacy muſt go down,
They will deſtroy the Croſier and the Crown.

10 *Church-men are chain'd, and Schiſmaticks are (freed,*
Mechanicks Preach, and Holy Fathers Bleed,
The Crown is Crucified with the Creed.

11 *The Church of* England *doth all Faction ſo- (ſter,*
The Pulpit is uſurpt by each Impoſtor,
Ex tempore, *excludes the* Pater Noſter.

12 *The* Presbyter *and* Independant *Seed (bleed,*
Springs with broad-blades; to make Religion
Herod, *and* Pontius Pilate *are agreed.*

13 *The*

13 *The Corner Stone's misplac't by every Pavier;*
With such a bloudy method, and behaviour,
Their Ancestors did Crucifie our Saviour.

14 *My Royal Consort, from whose fruitful Womb*
So many Princes legally have come,
Is forc't in Pilgrimage to seek a Tomb.

15 *Great* Britains *Heir is forced into* France,
Whilest on his Father's head, his Foes advance,
Poor Child! He weeps out his Inheritance.

16 *With my own Power, my Majesty they wound,*
In the Kings name, the K. himselfs uncrown'd:
So doth the dust, destroy the Diamond.

17 *With Propositions daily they enchaunt*
My Peoples ears, such as do Reason daunt,
And the Almighty will not let me Grant.

18 *They promise, to erect my Royal Stem,*
To make me Great, t'advance my Diadem,
If I will first fall down, and Worship them;

19 *But for refusal they devour my Thrones,*
Distress my Children, and destroy my bones,
I fear they'l force me, to make bread of stones.

20 *My life they prize at such a slender rate,*
That in my absence, they draw Bills of hate,
To prove the King a Traytor to the State.

21 *Felons*

21 *Felons obtain more priviledge than I,*
They are allow'd to anſwer, e're they dye,
'Tis death for Me to ask the Reaſon, Why.

22 *But Sacred Saviour, with thy words I woo*
Thee to forgive, and not be bitter to
Such, as thou know'ſt do not know what they do.

23 *For ſince they from their Lord are ſo disjointed,*
As to contemn thoſe Edicts he appointed,
How can they prize the Power of his Anointed?

24 *Augment my Patience, nulliſie my hate,*
Preſerve my Iſſue, and inſpire my Mate,
Tet, tho' We periſh, bleſs this Church and State.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

I.

Upon his Majeſties *Calling this laſt* Parliament.

THIS laſt Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and neceſſity of my Affaires, than by my own choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliaments moſt ſafe for my Crown, as beſt pleaſing to my People. And although I was not forgetful of thoſe ſparks which ſome mens diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for ſome years I hoped to have extinguiſhed;) yet reſolving with My ſelf to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſſe all publick Grievances in Church and State, I hoped (by my freedome and their moderation) to prevent all miſunderſtandings and miſcarriages in this: In which as I feared affairs would meet with ſome Paſſion and Prejudice in other men, ſo I reſolved they ſhould finde leaſt of them in My ſelf; not doubting but by the weight of Reaſon I ſhould counterpoize the over-balancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, ſorry to hear with what Partiality and Popular heat Elections were carried in many places: yet hoping that the Gravity and Diſcretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding ſome mens well-meaning zeal by ſuch rules of moderation as are beſt both to preſerve and reſtore the health of all States and Kingdomes) no man was better pleaſed with the convening of this Parliament than My ſelf; who knowing beſt the Largeneſſe of my own Heart toward my Peoples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed My ſelf moſt in that good and firm underſtanding which would hence grow between Me and my People.

All Jealouſies being laid aſide, My own and my Childrens Intereſts gave Me many obligations to ſeek and preſerve the Love and welfare of my Subjects; the onely temporal Bleſſing that is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt Honour and Safety, next God's Protection. I cared not to leſſen My ſelf in ſome things of my wonted Prerogative, ſince I knew I could be no loſer, if I might gain but a recompence in my Subjects Affections.

I intended not onely to oblige my Friends, but mine Enemies alſo; exceeding even the deſires of thoſe that were factiouſly diſcontented, if they did but pretend to any modeſt and ſober ſenſe.

The

The *Odium* and offences which ſome mens Rigor or Remiſneſs in Church and State had contracted upon my Government, I reſolved to have expiated by ſuch Laws and regulations for the future, as might not only rectifie what was amiſs in Practice, but ſupply what was defective in the Conſtitution: No man having a greater zeal to ſee Religion ſetled, and preſerved in Truth, Unity and Order, than My ſelf, whom it moſt concerns both in Piety and Policy; as knowing that, No flames of civil Diſſentions are more dangerous than thoſe which make Religious pretenſions the grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to reform what I ſhould by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced of to be amiſs, and to grant whatever my Reaſon and Conſcience told Me was fit to be deſired. I wiſh I had kept My ſelf within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered my own Judgment to have been overborn in ſome things, more by others Importunities than their Arguments: My confidence had leſs betrayed My ſelf and my Kingdoms to thoſe advantages which ſome men ſought for, who wanted nothing but Power and Occaſion to do miſchief.

But our Sins being ripe, there was no preventing of God's Juſtice from reaping that Glory in our Calamities which we robb'd him of in our Proſperity.

FOR Thou (O Lord) haſt made us ſee, that Reſolutions of future Reforming do not always ſatisfie thy Juſtice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miſcarriages.

Our Sins have overlaid our Hopes. Thou haſt taught us to depend on thy Mercies to forgive, not on our purpoſe to amend.

When Thou haſt vindicated thy Glory by thy Judgments, and haſt ſhewed us how unſafe it is to offend Thee, upon preſumptions afterwards to pleaſe Thee; then I truſt thy Mercies will reſtore thoſe Bleſſings to us, which we have ſo much abuſed as to force Thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely Repentance of our ſins, Thou giveſt us cauſe to repent of thoſe remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not repent of my calling this laſt Parliament; becauſe, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to thy Glory and my peoples good.

The Miſeries which have enſued upon Me and my Kingdoms, are the juſt effects of thy diſpleaſure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparative of us to future Bleſſings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though Thou haſt deprived us of many former comforts, yet grant Me and my people the benefit of our afflictions and thy chaſtiſements; that thy rod as well as thy ſtaff may comfort us. Then ſhall we dare to account them the ſtrokes not of an Enemy, but a Father, when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of Patience in Repentance, which becomes thy Children. I

ſhall

ſhall have no cauſe to repent the Miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought Me and my people unfeignedly to repent of the Sins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our Sufferings, than our Peace could be with our Sins.

O thou ſoveraign Goodneſs and Wiſdom, who over-ruleſt all our Counſels, over-rule alſo all our hearts; That the worſe things we ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our Sins have turned our Antidotes into poyſon, ſo let thy Grace turn our poyſons into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy War, ſo let this War prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in my Heart and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours ſake, Amen.

II.

Upon the Earl of Strafford's *Death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman whoſe great Abilities might make a Prince rather afraid than aſhamed to employ him in the greateſt affairs of State.

For thoſe were prone to create in him great

confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a ſphere and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, he muſt needs (as the Sun) raiſe many envious exhalations, which condenſed by a Popular *Odium*, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt Merit and Integrity.

Though I cannot in my Judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſſities of Times and the Temper of that People, more than led by his own diſpoſition to any height and rigor of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch Criminouſneſs in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of Juſtice, and Malice of his Enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs than in the buſineſs of that unfortunate Earl: when between my own unſatisfiedneſs in Conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told Me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome people, I was perſwaded by thoſe that I think wiſhed Me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, than what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward Peace of my Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſs of Conſcience before God.

And indeed I am ſo far from excuſing or denying that compliance on My part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom

whom in my Judgment I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death; that I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: which, as a ſign of my Repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinful frailty, that it diſcovered more a fear of Man than of God, whoſe name and place on Earth no man is worthy to bear who will avoid inconveniences of State by acts of ſo high injuſtice as no publick convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conſcience, thereby to ſalve State ſores; to calm the ſtorms of Popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans own boſome.

Nor hath God's Juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) than the people be diſpleaſed, or deſtroyed.* For,

In all likelyhood, I could never have ſuffered, with my people, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* Innocency, at leaſt by denying to ſign that deſtructive *BILL*, according to that Juſtice which my Conſcience ſuggeſted to Me, than I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankful importunities with ſo cruel a favour. And I have obſerved, that thoſe who counſelled Me to ſign that *BILL*, have been ſo far from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the People, that no men have

been haraſſed and cruſhed more than they; He only hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled Me not to conſent againſt the Vote of my own Conſcience. I hope God hath forgiven Me and them the ſinful raſhneſs of that buſineſs.

To which being in my Soul ſo fully conſcious, thoſe Judgments God hath pleaſed to ſend upon Me, are ſo much the more welcom, as a means (I hope) which his Mercy hath ſanctified ſo to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to Me,) and for the future to teach Me, That the beſt rule of Policy is to prefer the doing of Juſtice before all enjoyments, and the Peace of my Conſcience before the preſervation of my Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified my reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gain a like conſent from Me to Acts wherein my Conſcience is unſatisfied, than the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me in my Lord of *Strafford*'s Buſineſs.

Not that I reſolved to have employed him in my Affairs, againſt the advice of my Parliament; but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe Guiltleſneſs I was better aſſured than any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing ſatisfaction to the Major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords,

Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent when the Bill paſſed that Houſe. And for the Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh my Lord of *Straffords* greatneſs and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemn him to die: who for their Integrity in their Votes, were, by Poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamors for *Juſtice*, (that is, to have both My ſelf and the two Houſes Vote and do as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurr with the condemning party, than ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to doe.

And that after-Act vacating the Authority of the precedent for future imitation, ſufficiently tells the World, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable Enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loth ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſs and regret I finde in my Soul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly, God knows,) in ſhedding one mans bloud unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice, and pretences of avoiding publick miſchiefs;) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and Man, to all Poſterity, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that

Bloud

Bloud which hath been ſhed in this unhappy Warre, which ſome men will needs charge on *Me*, to eaſe their own Souls, who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, than to loſe My own.

BUT Thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive Me that act of ſinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me than any man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of Envy or Malice againſt him, and by my place ſhould at leaſt ſo far have been a preſerver of him, as to have denied my conſent to his deſtruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my tranſgreſſion, and my ſin is ever before Me.

Deliver Me from bloud-guiltineſs, O God, thou God of my ſalvation, and my tongue ſhall ſing of thy righteouſneſs.

Againſt Thee have I ſinned, and done this evil in thy ſight; for Thou ſaweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet caſt Me not away from thy preſence, purge Me with the bloud of my Redeemer, and I ſhall be clean; waſh Me with that precious effuſion, and I ſhall be whiter than ſnow.

Teach Me to learn Righteouſneſs by thy Judgments, and to ſee my frailty in thy Juſtice: While I was perſwaded by ſhedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou haſt for that, among other ſins, brought upon Me and upon my Kingdoms great, long and heavy troubles.

Make Me to prefer Juſtice, which is thy Will, before

before all contrary clamors, which are but the diſcoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome Me, to pleaſe them by diſpleaſing Thee: O Never ſuffer me for any reaſon of State, to go againſt my Reaſon of Conſcience, which is highly to ſin againſt Thee, the God of Reaſon and Judge of our Conſciences.

Whatever, O Lord, Thou ſeeſt fit to deprive Me of, yet reſtore unto Me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold Me with thy free Spirit, which ſubjects my Will to none but thy Light of Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion, which ſhines in my Soul; for Thou deſireſt Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expreſſions.

Lord, hear the voice of thy Sons and my Saviours Bloud, which ſpeaks better things; O make Me and my People to hear the voice of Joy and Gladneſs, that the bones which thou haſt broken may rejoyce in thy Salvation.

III.

Upon his Majeſties *going to the Houſe of* Commons.

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the Five Members, was an act which my Enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could:

It

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and fears; yea, and many of my Friends reſented it as a motion riſing rather from paſsion than Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion as the touchineſs of thoſe times required.

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My ſelf ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave onely a free and legal Tryal, which was all I deſired.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure or revenge againſt thoſe mens Perſons, further than I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawful correſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made, to embroyl my Kingdoms: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chief Contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo: yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publick Peace, which to preſerve by calling in queſtion half a dozen men in a fair and Legal way (which God knows was all my deſign) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, than either to doe

Me

Me and my Kingdom right, in caſe they had been found guilty; or elſe to have cleared their Innocency, and removed my Suſpicions; which, as they were not raiſed out of any Malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What flames of Diſcontent this ſpark (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witneſs. The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their Priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows I had no ſuch intent, ſo none that attended Me could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and Safety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were my Followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at my coming, than I was unaſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon Me, if I had none with Me to preſerve a Reverence to Me: For many people had (at that time) learn'd to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Me both by words and deeds.

The

The Summe of that buſineſs was this:

Thoſe men and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted Vulgar as greater protectors of their Laws and Liberties than My ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leave them to God and their own Conſciences, who, if guilty of evil machinations, no preſent impunity or Popular vindications of them will be ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, we muſt religiouſly appeal, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after unavoidable Judgment, which ſhall rejudge what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future Commotions which I foreſaw would in all likelihood follow ſome mens activity (if not reſtrained,) and ſo now have done, to the undoing of many thouſands; the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the Freedom of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Authority by any violent impreſſions upon them, was not at all my deſign: I thought I had ſo much Juſtice and Reaſon on my ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſſiſtance; and I was reſolved rather to bear the repulſe with Patience, than to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

BUT

BUT thou, O Lord, art my witneſs in heaven, and in my heart: If I have purpoſed any violence or oppreſſion againſt the Innocent, or if there were any ſuch wickedneſs in my thoughts;

Then let the Enemy perſecute my Soul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honor in the duſt.

Thou that ſeeſt not as man ſeeth, but lookeſt beyond all popular appearances, ſearching the heart and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkneſs, ſhew thy ſelf.

Let not my Afflictions be eſteemed (as with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my Sin in that matter; more than their Impunity among good men is any ſure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiſs, though they are not puniſhed for it in this world.

Save thy Servant from the privy Conſpiracies and open Violence of bloudy and unreaſonable men, according to the uprightneſs of my heart and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cauſe, and maintain my right, O Thou that ſitteſt in the Throne judging rightly, that thy Servant may ever rejoyce in thy Salvation.

IV.

Upon the Inſolency of the Tumults.

I Never thought any thing (except our Sins) more ominouſly preſaging all theſe Miſchiefs which have followed, than thoſe Tumults in *London* and *Weſtminſter* ſoon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a Storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its Terror) but like an Earthquake, ſhaking the very foundation of all; than which nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the moſt convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power ſets bounds to the raging of the Sea: ſo 'tis no leſs, that he reſtrains the Madneſs of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more God's diſpleaſure againſt a Nation, than when he ſuffers the confluence and clamors of the Vulgar to paſs all boundaries of Laws and reverence to Authority.

Which thoſe Tumults did to ſo high degrees of Inſolence, that they ſpared not to invade the Honour and Freedom of the two Houſes, menacing, reproaching, ſhaking, yea and aſſaulting ſome Members of both Houſes, as they fancied or diſliked them: Nor did they forbear moſt rude and unſeemly deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions, to My ſelf and my Court.

Nor

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an Ague, but a quotidian Fever, always encreaſing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, they muſt be a Guard againſt thoſe Fears which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared, and leſs to be uſed by wiſe men, than thoſe Tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at laſt to command and over-awe the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with Reaſon and Candor) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all Rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out; by theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences muſt be ſubdued; by theſe all factious, ſeditious and ſchiſmatical Propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſtical or Civil muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, whoever had moſt mind to bring forth Confuſion and Ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults: whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity and deliberateneſs befit-

ting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Incouragers moſt fancied.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their Outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated and connived at by ſome; countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired for the publick good, than obtain it by ſuch unlawful and irreligious means? But mens Paſſions and God's directions ſeldom agree: violent deſigns and motions muſt have ſuitable engines: ſuch as too much attend their own Ends, ſeldom confine themſelves to God's Means. Force muſt crowd in what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance. God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit Means to be uſed for attaining his Ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage when ſtrong Winds blow upon it; ſo neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they have men of ſome Reputation for Parts and Piety to ſet them on.

That

That which made their Rudeneſs moſt formidable, was, that many complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelf and ſome of both Houſes, yet no order for redreſs could be obtained with any vigor and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now farſpread diſeaſe and predominant Miſchief.

Such was ſome mens Stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; others Petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their Betters ſhamefully outraged and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: So inſenſible were they of Mine or the two Houſes common Safety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure and puniſh the known Boutefeaus and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer Stateſmen) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal and Induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better than that of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive and *devour*.

I confeſs, when I found ſuch a deafneſs, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt foully inſolenced and aſſaulted, nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor, nor yet from My ſelf, could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults, and ſecuring

not onely Our freedom in Parliament, but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My ſelf not bound by my preſence to provoke them to higher boldneſs and contempts: I hoped by my withdrawing to give time both for the ebbing of their tumultuous Fury, and others regaining ſome degrees of Modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity in any man for Popular terrors to deſert his publick ſtation: But I think it a hardineſs beyond true Valor, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt at preſent, threatens imminent danger, but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a Gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, than ſcuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a War, when I went from *Whitehall* only to redeem my Perſon and Conſcience from violence: God knows I did not then think of a War. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by ſo many former, and ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakned My ſelf, if I had purpoſed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denyed My ſelf in ſo many particulars: 'tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto for Protection or Vindication.

Who

Who can blame Me, or any other, for withdrawing our ſelves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their Fury and Diſcontent might not flie ſo high, as to worry and tear thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their paws? God, who is my ſole Judge, is my Witneſs in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from my houſe at *White-hall*, if I could have had but any reaſonable fair quarter: I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo; but I did not think My ſelf bound to proſtitute the Majeſty of my Place and Perſon, the ſafety of my Wife and Children, to thoſe who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity moſt capable of their rudeneſs and petulancy.

But this buſineſs of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others yet living know themſelves deſperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it as it is; Onely I believe the juſt Avenger of all diſorders will in time make thoſe men and that City ſee their Sin in the glaſs of their Puniſhment. 'Tis more than an even lay, that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all Reaſon, Ho-

nor and Religion they ſhould have been, I doubt not but things would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſs content to all good men than they wiſhed or expected.

For I was reſolved to hear Reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian Concourſes to publick Counſels, turning all into Diſorders and ſordid Confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, that had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the ſad Conſequences in all likelihood, with God's Bleſſing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcom in any place; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humors as that where it was unhappily convened. But we muſt leave all to God, who orders our Diſorders, and magnifies his Wiſdom moſt when our Follies and miſeries are moſt diſcovered.

BUT Thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defence; to Thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the raging of the Sea, and the Madneſs of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in upon Me, and are ready to overwhelm Me.

I look upon my Sins and the Sins of my People (which are the tumults of our Souls againſt Thee, O Lord) as the juſt cauſe of theſe Popular inundations

dations which Thou permitteſt to over-bear all the banks of Loyalty, Modeſty, Laws, Juſtice and Religion.

But Thou that gatheredſt the waters into one place, and madeſt the dry land to appear, and after didſt aſſwage the Flood which drowned the World by the word of thy power, rebuke thoſe Beaſts of the People, and deliver Me from the Rudeneſs and ſtrivings of the Multitude.

Reſtore, we beſeech Thee, unto us the freedoms of our Councils and Parliaments, make us unpaſſionately to ſee the light of Reaſon and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Chriſtians; ſo ſhall we praiſe thy Name, who art the God of Order and Counſel.

What man cannot or will not repreſs, thy Omnipotent Juſtice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſin, whom Thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing or not ſuppreſſing thoſe Diſorders: Let Shame here, and not Suffering hereafter, be their Puniſhment.

Set bounds to our Paſſions by Reaſon, to our Errors by Truth, to our Seditions by Laws duly executed, and to our Schiſms by Charity; that we may be, as thy Jeruſalem, *a City at unity in it ſelf.*

This grant, O my God, in thy good time, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, Amen.

V.

Upon His Majeſties *paſſing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments; and after ſetling this, during the pleaſure of the Two Houſes.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in my purpoſes at firſt, to contribute what in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honor and Conſcience I could to the happy ſucceſs of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other deſign but the general Good of my Kingdoms) I willingly paſſed the Bill for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick, might (if well applied) prevent any diſtempers from getting any head or prevailing; eſpecially, if the Remedy proved not a Diſeaſe beyond all remedy.

I conceived this Parliament would finde work with convenient receſſes for the firſt three years; but I did not imagine that ſome men would thereby have occaſioned more work than they found to doe, by undoing ſo much as they found well done to their hands. Such is ſome mens activity, that they will needs make work rather than want it; and chuſe to be doing amiſs, rather than doe nothing.

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcanty to ſatisfie ſome mens Fears, and compaſs publick Affairs; I was perſwaded to grant that Bill of Sitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes,

Houſes, which amounted in ſome mens ſenſe to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt Confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out and lock the door upon all preſent Jealouſies and future Miſtakes: I confeſs I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelf out of doors, as ſome men have now requited Me.

True, it was an Act unparallel'd by any of my Predeceſſors; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation than this, of an extreme Confidence I had, that my Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny My ſelf in ſo high a point of my Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit, that My condition ſhould be worſe by my bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſs to deſire, advantages of doing good or evil.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigor, wherein My intereſt lies more than any mans, ſince by thoſe Laws my Rights as a King would be preſerved no leſs than my Subjects; which is all I deſired. More than the Law gives Me I would not have, and leſs the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Some

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented Me of that ſetling Act; and many would needs perſwade Me, I had cauſe ſo to doe: but I could not eaſily nor ſuddenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in men of Honour, that the more I granted them, the leſs I ſhould have and enjoy with them. I ſtill counted My ſelf undiminiſhed by my largeſt Conceſſions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of my People.

Of which I do not yet deſpair, but that God will ſtill bleſs Me with increaſe of it, when Men ſhall have more leiſure and leſs prejudice; that ſo with unpaſſionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe (as I think) not more Princely than friendly contributions which I granted towards the perpetuating of their Happineſs, who are now onely miſerable in this, That ſome mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt but that in Gods due time, the Loyal and cleared affections of my People will ſtrive to return ſuch retributions of Honor and Love to Me or my Poſterity, as may fully compenſate both the acts of my Confidence and my Sufferings for them; which (God knows) have been neither few, nor ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little, to men, that being profeſſedly my Subjects, pretended

ſingular

ſingular Piety and Religious ſtrictneſs.

The Injury of all Injuries is, that which ſome men will needs load Me withall, as if I were a wilful and reſolved Occaſioner of My own and my Subjects Miſeries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falſly divulge) I repining at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hoſtility to undoe what by my Royal aſſent I had done. Sure it had argued a very ſhort ſight of things, and extream fatuity of minde in Me, ſo far to bind My own hands at their requeſt, if I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God knows, though I had then a ſenſe of Injuries; yet not ſuch, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure My ſelf by their not uſing favors with the ſame Candor wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonneſs; but I thought at length their own Fears, whoſe Black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had juſtly reſented any indignities put upon Me or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike way upon thoſe whom I knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of the people, that I could not have given my Enemies greater and more

deſired

deſired advantages againſt Me, than by ſo unprincely Inconſtancy to have aſſaulted them with Arms, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſetled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows I longed for nothing more, than that My ſelf and my Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many Condeſcendings.

It had been a courſe full of Sin, as well as of Hazard and Diſhonor, for Me to goe about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probability; if ſome men had not feared where no fear was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in ſcaring others.

I thank God, I know ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſs of my own Heart, in paſſing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times, that although I may ſeem leſs a Politician to men, yet I need no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſions before God. Nor had I any reſervations in my own Soul when I paſſed it, nor repentings after, till I ſaw that my letting ſome men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to caſt Me down headlong; concluding, that without a Miracle, Monarchy it ſelf, together with Me, could not but be daſhed in pieces by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive,

give, and make them ſee at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil ſhewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining by ways of ſinful ingratitude and diſhonor, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds than this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preſerved Me, and made Me to ſee, that it is no ſtrange thing for men left to their own Paſſions, either to doe much evil themſelves, or abuſe the overmuch goodneſs of others, whereof an ungrateful Surfeit is the moſt deſperate and incurable diſeaſe.

I cannot ſay properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflections upon it as a Sin of my Will, though an Error of too charitable a Judgment: Onely I am ſorry other mens eyes ſhould be evil, becauſe Mine were good.

TO Thee (O my God) do I ſtill appeal, whoſe all-diſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pretenſions, and deceitful darkneſſes of their hearts.

Thou gaveſt Me a heart to grant much to my Subjects; and now I need a heart fitted to ſuffer much from ſome of them.

Thy will be done, though never ſo much to the croſſing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be moſt conformable to thine and theirs too who pretended they aimed at nothing elſe.

Let

Let thy Grace teach Me wiſely to enjoy as well the fruſtratings, as the fulfillings of my beſt hopes and moſt ſpecious deſires.

I ſee while I thought to allay others Fears, I have raiſed mine own; and by ſetling them, have unſetled My ſelf.

Thus have they requited Me evil for good, and hatred for my good will towards them.

O Lord, be Thou my Pilot in this dark and dangerous ſtorm, which neither admits my return to the Port whence I ſet out, nor my making any other with that Safety and Honor which I deſigned.

'Tis eaſie for Thee to keep Me ſafe in the love and confidence of my people; nor is it hard for Thee to preſerve Me amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too many, which Thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevail upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuſe my acts of greateſt Indulgence to them and aſſurance of them.

But no Favors from Me can make others more guilty than My ſelf may be, of miſuſing thoſe many and great ones which Thou, O Lord, haſt conferred on Me.

I beſeech Thee give Me and them ſuch Repentance as Thou wilt accept, and ſuch Grace as we may not abuſe.

Make Me ſo far happy, as to make a right uſe of others abuſes; and by their failings of Me, to reflect with a reforming diſpleaſure upon my Offences againſt Thee.

So, although for My ſins I am by other mens ſins deprived of thy temporal Bleſſings, yet I may

be

be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy Mercies, which often raiſe the greateſt Sufferers to be the moſt glorious Saints.

VI.

Upon his Majeſties *retirement from* Weſtminſter.

WIth what unwillingneſs I withdrew from *Weſtminſter*, let them judge who, unprovided of tackling and victual, are forced to Sea by a Storm; yet better do ſo, than venture ſplitting or ſinking on a Lee ſhore.

I ſtayed at *White-hall* till I was driven away by ſhame more than fear, to ſee the barbarous Rudeneſs of thoſe Tumults who reſolved they would take the boldneſs to demand any thing, and not leave either My ſelf or the Members of Parliament the liberty of Our Reaſon and Conſcience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable Oppreſſion My caſe alone, (though chiefly Mine:) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be over-voted by the major part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own freedom.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law or Reaſon concluſive to My Judgment; nor can they include or carry with them My conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kind

kind; nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, than I ſee them agree with the will of God, with My juſt Rights as a King, and the general good of my People. I ſee that, as many men, they are ſeldom of one mind; and I may oft ſee that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate minds, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bills, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all: if ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſs had not learned to thirſt the more by how much the more they drank; whom no fountain of Royal Bounty was able to overcome, ſo reſolved they ſeemed either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure it ceaſes to be Counſel, when not Reaſon is uſed, as to men, to perſwade, but Force and Terror, as to beaſts, to drive and compel men to aſſent to whatever tumultuary Patrons ſhall project. He deſerves to be a Slave without pity or redemption, that is content to have the Rational ſoveraignty of his Soul, and liberty of his Will and Words ſo captivated.

Nor do I think my Kingdoms ſo conſiderable, as to preſerve them with the forfeiture of that Freedom which cannot be denied Me as a King, becauſe it belongs to Me as a Man and a Chriſtian; owning the dictates of none but God to be above Me, as obliging Me

Me to conſent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of my Soul, which ſubjects Me only to God, ſo far as by Reaſon or Religion he directs Me, than live with the Title of a King, if it ſhould carry ſuch a vaſſalage with it, as not to ſuffer Me to uſe my Reaſon and Conſcience, in which I declare as a King to like or diſlike.

So far am I from thinking the Majeſty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation-Oath, in a blind and brutiſh formality to conſent to whatever its Subjects in Parliament ſhall require, as ſome men will needs inferr; while denying me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not aſhamed to ſeek to deprive Me of the liberty of uſing my Reaſon with a good Conſcience, which themſelves and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick, who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny whatever My ſelf, as King, or the Houſe of Peers with Me ſhould, not ſo much deſire as enjoyn them to paſs. I think my Oath fully diſcharged in that point, by my Governing only by ſuch Laws as my People with the Houſe of Peers have choſen, and My ſelf conſented to. I ſhall never think My ſelf conſcientiouſly tied to go as oft againſt my Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſals which my Reaſon, in Juſtice, Honour and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being ſubject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themſelves give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonor and abſurdity they make their King the only man that muſt be ſubject to the will of others, without having power left him to uſe his own Reaſon, either in Perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if my diſſentings at any time were (as ſome have ſuſpected and uncharitably avowed) out of Error, Opinionativeneſs, Weakneſs, or Wilfulneſs, and what they call Obſtinacy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but ſome vehement Prejudice or Paſſion hath fixed on my Mind;) yet can no man think it other than the badge and method of Slavery, by ſavage Rudeneſs and importunate obtruſions of Violence to have the miſt of his Error and Paſſion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who ſeriouſly endeavours to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reaſon: The uprightneſs of his Intentions will excuſe the poſſible failings of his Underſtanding. If a Pilot at Sea cannot ſee the Pole-ſtar, it can be no fault in him to ſteer his courſe by ſuch Stars as do beſt appear to him. It argues rather thoſe men to be conſcious of their defects of Reaſon and convincing Arguments,

who

who call in the aſſiſtance of mere force to carry on the weakneſs of their Counſels and Propoſals. I may in the truth and uprightneſs of my Heart proteſt before God and Men, that I never wilfully oppoſed or denied any thing that was in a fair way, after full and free debates, propounded to Me by the Two Houſes, further than I thought in good Reaſon I might and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever pleaſe Me more, than when My Judgment ſo concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conſcience conſent to them: yea in many things, where not abſolute and moral neceſſity of Reaſon, but temporary convenience on point of Honour was to be conſidered, I choſe rather to deny My ſelf than them; as preferring that which they thought neceſſary for my Peoples good, before what I ſaw but convenient for My ſelf.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Intereſts and Perſonal Rights, of which I conceive My ſelf to be Maſter: but in what concerns Truth, Juſtice, the Rights of the Church, and my Crown, together with the general good of my Kingdomes, (all which I am bound to preſerve as much as morally lies in Me) here I am and ever ſhall be fixt and reſolute; nor ſhall any man gain my conſent to that wherein my Heart gives my Tongue or Hand the Lye; nor will I be brought to affirm that to Men, which in my

Conſcience I denied before God. I will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of Thorns with my Saviour, than to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of Lead, whoſe embaſed flexibleneſs ſhall be forced to bend and comply to the various and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when in ſtead of Reaſon and Publick Concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the intereſt of Parties, and flows from the partialities of private Wills and Paſſions.

I know no reſolutions more worthy a Chriſtian King, than to prefer his Conſcience before his Kingdomes.

O my God, preſerve thy Servant in this Native, Rational and Religious Freedom; for this I believe is thy will that we ſhould maintain: who, though Thou doſt juſtly require us to ſubmit our Underſtandings and Wills to thine, whoſe Wiſdom and Goodneſs can neither erre nor miſguide us, and ſo far to deny our carnal Reaſon in order to thy Sacred Myſteries and Commands, that we ſhould believe and obey rather than diſpute them; yet doſt Thou expect from us only ſuch a reaſonable Service of Thee, as not to do any thing for Thee againſt our Conſciences; and as to the deſires of men, enjoineſt us to try all things by the touch-ſtone of Reaſon and Laws, which are the Rules of Civil Juſtice, and to declare our Conſents to that only which our Judgments approve.

Thou

Thou knoweſt, O Lord, how unwilling I was to deſert that place in which Thou haſt ſet Me, and whereto the Affairs of my Kingdoms at preſent do çall Me.

My People can witneſs how far I have been content for their good, to deny My ſelf in what Thou haſt ſubjected to My diſpoſal.

O let not the unthankful importunities and Tumultuary Violence of ſome mens Immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous and unmanly ſlavery, which ſhould make Me ſtrengthen them by my Conſent in thoſe things which I think in my Conſcience to be againſt thy Glory, the good of my Subjects, and the diſcharge of my own duty to Reaſon and Juſtice.

Make Me willing to ſuffer the greateſt Indignities and Injuries they preſs upon Me, rather than commit the leaſt ſin againſt my Conſcience.

Let the juſt Liberties of my People be (as well they may) preſerved in fair and equal ways, without the ſlavery of my Soul.

Thou that haſt inveſted Me by thy Favours in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer Me not to ſubject my Reaſon to other mens Paſſions and deſigns, which to Me ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve Thee in the truth and uprightneſs of my Heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk always uprightly before Thee.

Lead Me in the way of Truth and Juſtice: for theſe, I know, will bring Me at laſt to Peace and

Happineſs with Thee; though for theſe I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of Thee for my Saviours ſake.

VII.

Upon the Queens *departure and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at my Wifes departure from Me and out of my Dominions; yet not her abſence ſo much as the ſcandal of that Neceſſity which drives Her away, doth afflict Me: That She ſhould be compelled by My own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for her Safety: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects that have taken up Arms againſt their King, a Proteſtant. For I look upon this now done in *England*, as another Act of the ſame Tragedy which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a further alienation of Mind and divorce of Affections in Her from that Religion, which is the only thing wherein We differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would, in time take away, and not ſuffer theſe practi-

practices to be any obſtruction to her Judgement; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good Manners, and ſo not to be imputed to the true *Engliſh* Proteſtants, who continue firm to their former ſetled Principles and Laws.

I am ſorry my relation to ſo deſerving a Lady ſhould be any occaſion of her Danger and affliction, whoſe Merits would have ſerved Her for a protection among the ſavage *Indians*, while their Rudeneſs and Barbarity knows not ſo perfectly to hate all Vertues as ſome mens Subtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are ſo malicious as to hate Her for Her ſelf. The fault is, that She is My Wife.

All Juſtice then as well as Affection commands Me to ſtudy her Security, who is only in danger for My ſake. I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten and ſhipwrackt, ſo as She may be in ſafe Harbor.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by Her Safety in the midſt of My Perſonal Dangers, that I can periſh but half if She be preſerved: In whoſe memory and hopefull Poſterity I may yet ſurvive the Malice of my Enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with my Blood.

I muſt leave Her and Them to the love and Loyalty of my good Subjects, and to his Protection who is able to puniſh the Faults

of Princes, and no leſs ſeverely to revenge the Injuries done to Them by thoſe who in all duty and Allegiance ought to have made good that Safety which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common Civility is in vain expected from thoſe that diſpute their Loyalty: Nor can it be ſafe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

'Tis pity ſo noble and peacefull a Soul ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the Rudeneſs of thoſe who muſt make up their want of Juſtice with Inhumanity and Impudence.

Her ſympathy with Me in my Afflictions will make her Vertues ſhine with greater luſtre, as Stars in the darkeſt nights, and aſſure the envious world that She loves Me, not my Fortunes.

Neither of Us but can eaſily forgive, ſince We do not much blame the unkindneſs of the Generality and Vulgar: for we ſee God is pleaſed to try both our Patience by the moſt ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with our Bounty, have ſcornfully lift up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of our own Houſhold are become our Enemies. I pray God lay not their ſin to their charge, who think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty by their Corban of Religion; and

can

can leſs endure to ſee, than to ſin againſt, their Benefactors as well as their Soveraigns.

But even that Policy of my Enemies is ſo far venial as it was neceſſary to their deſigns, by ſcandalous Articles and all irreverent demeanor to ſeek to drive Her out of my Kingdoms; leſt by the influence of her Example, eminent for Love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject She ſhould have converted to, or retained in their Love and Loyalty, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſs I may be bleſt with her company, the more I will retire to God, and my own Heart, whence no Malice can baniſh Her. My Enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her Vertues, while I enjoy My ſelf.

THOU, O Lord, whoſe Juſtice at preſent ſees fit to ſcatter Us, let thy Mercy, in thy due time, re-unite Us on Earth, if it be thy will; however, bring Us both at laſt to thy Heavenly Kingdom.

Preſerve Us from the hands of our deſpiteful and deadly Enemies; and prepare Us by our Sufferings for thy preſence.

Though we differ in ſome things as to Religion, (which is my greateſt temporal Infelicity;) yet, Lord, give and accept the ſincerity of our Affections, which deſire to ſeek, to finde, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let

Let both our hearts agree in the Love of thy ſelf, and Chriſt crucified for us.

Teach Us both what thou wouldeſt have Us to know in order to thy Glory, our publick relations, and our Souls eternal good; and make Us careful to do what good We know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is neceſſary to be known, nor Unbelief or diſobedience to what We know, be our miſery or our wilful default.

Let not this great Scandal of thoſe my Subjects which profeſs the ſame Religion with Me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldſt have Her to learn, nor any hardning of Her in any Errour Thou wouldſt have cleared to Her.

Let mine and other mens Conſtancy be an Antidote againſt the poiſon of their Example.

Let the truth of that Religion I profeſs be repreſented to her Judgment with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity and Peaceableneſs; which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: not in the odious diſguiſes of Levity, Schiſm, Hereſie, Novelty, Cruelty and Diſloyalty, which ſome mens practices have lately put upon it.

Let Her ſee thy Sacred and Saving Truths as thine, that She may believe, love and obey them as thine, cleared from all ruſt and droſs of humane mixtures.

That in the glaſs of thy Truth She may ſee Thee, in thoſe Mercies which Thou haſt offered to us in thy Son Jeſus Chriſt our onely Saviour,

and

and ſerve Thee in all thoſe holy Duties which moſt agree with his holy Doctrine and moſt imitable Example.

The experience We have of the vanity and uncertainty of all humane Glory and Greatneſs in our ſcatterings and eclipſes, let it make Us both ſo much the more ambitious to be inveſted in thoſe durable Honours and Perfections which are only to be found in Thy ſelf, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.

VIII.

Upon His Majeſties *repulſe at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulſe at *Hull* ſeemed at the firſt view an act of ſo rude Diſloyalty, that my greateſt Enemies had ſcarce confidence enough to abett or own it: It was the firſt overt Eſſay to be made, how patiently I could bear the Loſs of my Kingdoms.

God knows, it affected Me more with ſhame and ſorrow for others, than with Anger for My ſelf: nor did the Affront done to Me trouble Me ſo much as their Sin, which admitted no colour or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to bear this and much more with Patience: But I foreſaw they could hardly contain themſelves within the compaſs of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit or countenance it.

it. This was but the hand of that Cloud which was ſoon after to overſpread the whole Kingdom, and caſt all into Diſorder and darkneſs.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and diſloyal undertakers, That bad actions muſt alwaies be ſeconded with worſe, and rather not be begun, than not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous than the aſſault, and hate Repentance more than perſeverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to ſee clearly through all the pious diſguiſes and ſoft palliations of ſome men; whoſe words were ſometime ſmoother than oyl, but now I ſaw they would prove very Swords.

Againſt which I having (as yet) no defence but that of a good Conſcience, thought it my beſt policy, with Patience to bear what I could not remedy. And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no diſdain or emotion of Paſſion tranſported Me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or ſay any thing unbeſeeming My ſelf, or unſuitable to that temper which in greateſt Injuries, I think, beſt becomes a Chriſtian, as coming neareſt to the great example of Chriſt.

And indeed, I deſire always more to remember I am a Chriſtian than a King: for what the Majeſty of the one might juſtly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge,

revenge, the humility of a Chriſtian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compaſs all thoſe impotent Paſſions, whoſe exceſs injures a man more than his greateſt enemies can: for theſe give their Malice a full impreſſion on our Souls, which otherways cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve how God not long after ſo pleaded and avenged my Cauſe in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blind cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fear to own it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of Divine Vengeance.

For Sir *John Hotham*, unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, only blaſted with the Conſcience of his own Wickedneſs, and falling from one Inconſtancy to another, not long after pays his own and his eldeſt Sons heads as forfeitures of their Diſloyalty, to thoſe men from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward than thus to divide their Heads from their bodies, whoſe Hearts with them were divided from their *KING*.

Nor is it ſtrange, that they who imployed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice and ſo ſucceſsful to them, ſhould not find mercy enough to forgive him who had ſo much premerited of them: For Apoſtaſy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſin.

Nor did a ſolitary Vengeance ſerve the turn;

turn; the cutting off one Head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the Head of the Common-weal: The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſin of the Father againſt the Father of his Country: Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy. God knows, I was ſo far from rejoycing in the *Hothams* ruine, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who firſt employed him againſt Me) that I ſo far pitied him, as I thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience than I hope many other men do in the ſame Cauſe.

For he was never thought to be of that ſuperſtitious ſowrneſs which ſome men pretend to in matters of Religion; which ſo darkens their Judgment, that they cannot ſee any thing of Sin and Rebellion in thoſe means they uſe, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of Piety, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of Zeal and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and ſo moſt liable to thoſe down-right temptations of Ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impoſe upon themſelves or others.

That which makes Me more pity him is, that

that after he began to have ſome inclinations towards a repentance for his ſin and reparation of his Duty to Me, he ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Juſtice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I think Clemency a debt which we ought to pay to thoſe that crave it, when we have cauſe to believe they would not after abuſe it; ſince God himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for his Mercy, but only Prayers and Praiſes.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unproſperous Diſloyalty, teaching the world by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, That the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraign carries always its own Vengeance as an unſeparable ſhadow with it; and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatal and implacable Executioners of it, who were the firſt Imployers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull* or at *Tower-hill:* though 'tis certain that no puniſhment ſo ſtains a mans Honour, as wilful perpetrations of unworthy actions; which beſides the conſcience of the ſin, brand with moſt indeleble characters of infamy the name and memory to Poſterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the moſt impartial reflections on the actions.

BUT

BUT Thou, O Lord, who haſt in ſo remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, ſuffer Me not to take any ſecret pleaſure in it; for as his death hath ſatisfied the Injury he did to Me, ſo let Me not by it gratifie any Paſſion in Me, leſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, and conſider the affront againſt Me more than the ſin againſt Thee.

Thou indeed, without any deſire or endeavour of Mine, haſt made his miſchief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou haſt pleaded my Cauſe, even before the ſons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands: That men may know it was thy work, and ſee that Thou, Lord, haſt done it.

I do not, I dare not ſay, So let mine Enemies periſh, O Lord: yea, Lord, rather give them Repentance, Pardon and impunity, if it be thy bleſſed will.

Let not Thy Juſtice prevent the objects and opportunities of My Mercy: yea, let them live and amend who have moſt offended Me in ſo high a nature; that I may have thoſe to forgive, who bear moſt proportion in their offences to thoſe treſpaſſes againſt thy Majeſty, which I hope thy Mercy hath forgiven Me.

Lord, lay not their ſins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their Conſciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment to one, be a terror to all.

Diſcover

Diſcover to them their ſin, who know not they have done amiſs; and ſcare them from their ſin, that ſin of malicious wickedneſs.

That preventing thy Judgments by their true Repentance, they may eſcape the ſtrokes of thine eternal Vengeance.

And do Thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the Throne of thy Servant in mercy and truth meeting together: let my Crown ever flouriſh in righteouſneſs and peace kiſſing each other.

Hear my Prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our Enemies for thy ſake, who haſt prevented us with offertures of thy love even when we were thine enemies, and haſt ſent thy Son Jeſus Chriſt to dye for us when we were diſpoſed to crucifie him.

IX.

Upon the liſting and raiſing Armies againſt the KING.

I Find that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was when they forced Me to leave *White-hall:* what Tumults could not do, an Army muſt; which is but Tumults liſted, and enrolled to a better Order, but as bad an End. My receſs hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may, as to any outward ſtrength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through

God's grace enabling Me; here I am ſure to be Conqueror, if God will give Me ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancy as to fear him more than man, and to love the inward peace of my Conſcience before any outward tranquillity.

And muſt I be oppoſed with Force, becauſe they have not Reaſon wherewith to convince Me? O my Soul, be of good courage: they confeſs their known weakneſs as to Truth and Juſtice, who chuſe rather to contend by Armies than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for thoſe many Acts of Grace I have lately paſſed, and for thoſe many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a Glorious *KING*, but by my Sufferings?

It is a hard and diſputable choice for a King, that loves his People and deſires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miſeries of Civil War in the bowels of my moſt flouriſhing Kingdom, the fruits I muſt now reap after Seventeen Years living and Reigning among them with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plenty and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envied? notwithſtanding ſome Miſcarriages in Government, which might eſcape rather through ill counſel of ſome men driving on their private ends, or the peeviſhneſs

of

of others, envying the Publick ſhould be managed without them, or the hidden and inſuperable neceſſities of State, than any propenſity, I hope, of My ſelf either to Injuriouſneſs or Oppreſſion.

Whoſe innocent bloud during my Reign have I ſhed to ſatisfie my Luſt, Anger, or Covetouſneſs? What Widows or Orphans tears can witneſs againſt Me, the juſt cry of which muſt now be avenged with My own bloud? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Cannon know any reſpect of Perſons.

In vain is my Perſon excepted by a Parentheſis of Words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt Me with Swords.

God knows how much I have ſtudied, to ſee what Ground of Juſtice is alledged for this War againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoon end ſo unnatural a motion: which (to many men) ſeems rather the production of a ſurfeit of Peace, and wantonneſs of minds, or of private diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which eaſily find or make cauſes of quarrel) than any real obſtructions of publick Juſtice or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in my own Conſcience, however ſome men are not willing to believe Me, leſt they ſhould condemn themſelves.

When I firſt withdrew from *White-hall*, to

ſee if I could allay the Inſolency of the Tumults, (of the not ſuppreſſing of which no account in Reaſon can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted) but only to oppreſs both Mine and the Two Houſes freedom of declaring and voting according to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were there further than this, that what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeem ſo to another?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Juſtice of Parliament?

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryal, (warned by my Lord of *Strafford*'s death) while the Vulgar threatned to be their Oppreſſors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that inſtinct which is in all creatures to preſerve themſelves. If any others refuſed to appear, where they evidently ſaw the current of Juſtice and Freedom ſo ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either durſt not come to the Houſes, or not declare their ſenſe with liberty and ſafety; it cannot ſeem ſtrange to any reaſonable man, when the ſole expoſing them to the publick *Odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cauſe could be heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honor of the Two Houſes; had they aſſerted their Juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Conſciences;

I know no man ſo dear to Me, whom *I* had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelf, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whoſe Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar Inſolencies, that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults and their Patrons, nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages or preſence, the deſigns of thoſe men who agitated Innovations and Ruine both in Church and State.

In this point *I* could not but approve their generous Conſtancy and Cautiouſneſs: further than this *I* did never allow any mans refractorineſs againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom *I* wiſhed nothing more than Safety, Fulneſs and Freedom.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary ways, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activity of factious Tumults) to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary minds to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſs of the Biſhops enjoying their Ancient places and undoubted

Priviledges in the Houſe of Peers carried for them by far the major part of Lords? Yet after five repulſes, contrary to all Order and Cuſtome, it was by tumultuary inſtigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peers were forced to abſent themſelves.

In like manner was the bill againſt Root and Branch brought on by tumultuary Clamors and ſchiſmatical Terrors, which could never paſs till both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partiality while in all Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion, my Conſcience forbids Me by conſenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; *I* muſt now be urged with an Army, and conſtrained either to hazard My own and my Kingdoms ruine by my Defence; or proſtrate my Conſcience to the blind obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous Superſtition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater ſervice, than utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolical, and anciently Univerſal Government of the Church by Biſhops.

Which if other mens Judgements bind them to maintain, or forbid them to conſent to the aboliſhing of it, Mine much more; who, beſides the grounds *I* have in my Judgment, have alſo a moſt ſtrict and indiſpenſable Oath upon my Conſcience, to preſerve that Order and the Rights of the Church: to which

which moſt Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, moſt unbeſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving my Conſent be betrayed, I ſhould account it infinitely greater Miſery than any hath or can befal Me; inaſmuch as the leaſt Sin hath more evil in it than the greateſt Affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-epiſcopal Faction at firſt in this point with my Conſent, and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſtical Government and Revenues to the fury of their Covetouſneſs, Ambition and Revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable neceſſity of raiſing an Army to fetch in and puniſh Delinquents.

That I conſented to the Bill of putting the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, was done with a firm perſwaſion of their contentedneſs to ſuffer a preſent diminution in their Rights and Honour for My ſake and the Commonweals; which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather than occaſion (by the leaſt obſtruction on their part) any danger to Me or to my Kingdom. That I cannot add my conſent for the total Extirpation of that Government, (which I have often offered to all fit Regulations) hath ſo much further tie upon my Conſcience, as what I think Religious and Apoſtolical, and ſo very Sacred and Divine, is not to be diſpenſed with or deſtroyed, when what is onely of civil Favour and priviledge of Honour gran-

ted to men of that Order, may with their Conſent who are concerned in it be annulled.

This is the true ſtate of thoſe Obſtructions pretended to be in point of Juſtice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witneſs, I knew none of ſuch conſequence as was worth ſpeaking of to make a War, being onely ſuch as Juſtice, Reaſon and Religion had made in My own and other mens Conſciences.

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents was made; which were but conſequences neceſſarily following upon Mine or others withdrawing from or defence againſt Violence: but thoſe could not be the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Army againſt Me. Wherein I was ſo far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might ſeem to have the advantage and Juſtice of the defenſive part, and load Me with all the Envy and Injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that God knows, I had not ſo much as any hopes of an Army in my thoughts. Had the Tumults been honourably and effectually repreſſed by exemplary Juſtice, and the Liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Members of either Houſe might with Honour and Freedom, becoming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their Conſciences, I had obtained all that I deſigned by my withdrawing, and had much more willingly

ly and ſpeedily returned than I retired; this being my Neceſſity driving, the other my Choice deſiring.

But ſome men knew, I was like to bring the ſame Judgment and Conſtancy which I carried with Me, which would never fit their Deſigns: and ſo while they invited Me to come, and grievouſly complained of my Abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it; eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and popular pretext, of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults and their Exciters, which drave My ſelf, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities; which yet in all Reaſon and Honour they were as loth to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate and firſt drift and deſign in raiſing an Army againſt Me, is by the ſequel ſo evident that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions, or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any original difference in any point of Law or order of Juſtice. But among other

other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopal, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or eaſily granted by Me, and onely to make up a number; or elſe they were merely conſequential and acceſſary, after the War was by them unjuſtly begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of Piety and heat for Reformation and Religion might eaſily ſo fill with Prejudice, that all equality and clearneſs of Judgment might be obſtructed. But this was and is, as to my beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affairs between us, when they firſt raiſed an Army, with this deſign, either to ſtop my mouth, or to force my Conſent. And in this truth, as to my Conſcience, (who was (God knows) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate ſucceſſes of this War on My ſide, I do not think my Innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned; nor am I without that Integrity and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſs my Prayer to him.

FOR Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgeſt without prejudice: Thy Omniſcience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgment.

O my God, the proud are riſen againſt Me, and the aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after my Soul, and have not ſet Thee before their eyes.

Conſider my Enemies, O Lord, for they are many; and they hate Me with a deadly hatred without a cauſe.

For Thou knoweſt, I had no Paſſion, Deſign or preparation to embroil my Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had leaſt temptation, as knowing I muſt adventure more than any, and could gain leaſt of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witneſs how oft I have deplored, and ſtudied to divert the neceſſity thereof; wherein I cannot well be thought ſo prodigally thirſty of my Subjects bloud, as to venture My own life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy War; and which were better ſpent to ſave, than to deſtroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with Patience to bear the many Afflictions Thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon Me: but much more to bear the unjuſt reproaches of thoſe, who not content that I ſuffer moſt by the War, will needs perſwade the world that I have raiſed it firſt, or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.

The confidence of ſome mens falſe tongues is ſuch, that they would make Me almoſt ſuſpect my own Innocency: Yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon Me ſo great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the Malice of my Enemies, and redeem my People from this miſerable War; ſince thou, O Lord, knoweſt my Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloudy and deceitful men; many of whom have not lived out half their days, in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counſels.

Save, O Lord, thy Servant, as hitherto Thou haſt; and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in War.

Ariſe, O Lord, lift up thy ſelf, becauſe of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaſeth more and more: Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chief deſign of this War is, either to deſtroy my Perſon, or force my Judgment, and to make me renege my Conſcience and thy Truth.

I am driven to croſs David's *choice, and deſire rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruel) than into thy hands, by ſinning againſt my Conſcience, and in that againſt Thee, who art a conſuming fire: Better they deſtroy Me, than Thou ſhouldſt damn Me.*

Be

Be Thou ever the defence of my Soul, who wilt ſave the upright in heart.

If nothing but my Bloud will ſatisfie my Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms, or thy temporal Juſtice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be ſhed by mine own Subjects hands.

But O let the Bloud of Me, though their King, yet a Sinner, be waſhed with the Bloud of my innocent and peace-making Redeemer; for in that thy Juſtice will find not only a temporary expiation, but an eternal plenary ſatisfaction, both for My ſins and the ſins of my People: whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for Thine; and when thy wrath is appeaſed by My Death, O remember thy great Mercies toward them, and forgive them, O my Father, for they know not what they do.

X.

Upon their ſeizing the King's *Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOW untruly I am charged with the firſt raiſing of an Army, and beginning this Civil War, the eyes that onely pity Me, and the Loyal hearts that durſt onely pray for Me at firſt, might witneſs, which yet appear not ſo many on My ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt Me. My unpreparedneſs for a War may well diſhearten thoſe that would help Me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingneſs to fight, yet it

it teſtifies for Me, that I am ſet on the defenſive part; having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My ſelf, or to preſerve what is Mine own from their prereption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Me in their purpoſes as well as their Injuries, who are ſo much before-hand in their Preparations againſt Me, and ſurpriſals of my ſtrength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; ſo overaw'd is their Loyalty by the others Numbers and Terrors. I believe my Innocency and unpreparedneſs to aſſert my Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guilty in their eſteem; who would not ſo eaſily have declared a War againſt Me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew my chiefeſt Arms left Me, were thoſe onely which the ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, *Prayers* and *Tears*. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to Suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and ſurprizing my Caſtles, Forts, Arms and Navy, with the Militia, is ſo far beſt for Me, that it may drive Me from putting any truſt in the arm of fleſh, and wholly to caſt My ſelf into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias*'s Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo

alſo make their ſurpriſal of outward Force and defence, an opportunity to ſhew Me the ſpecial ſupport of his Power and Protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* ſo much in reference to My own protection, as my Peoples.

Their many and ſore Oppreſſions grieve Me; I am above My own: what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take, to reſolve their Riddle of making Me a Glorious King, by taking away my Kingly Power: Thus I ſhall become a Support to my Friends, and a Terror to my Enemies, by being unable to ſuccour the one, or ſuppreſs the other.

For thus have they deſigned and propoſed to Me the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingſhip, as without any reality of Power, ſo without any neceſſity of Subjection and Obedience: That the Majeſty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter hang, like *Mahomet*'s Tomb, by a magnetick Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the Two Houſes, in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But I believe the ſurfeit of too much Power which ſome men have greedily ſeized on, and now ſeek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth ſick both of

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it and them, ſince they cannot well digeſt it; Soveraign Power in Subjects ſeldom agreeing with the ſtomachs of fellow-Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant *Militia* ſought, by ſatisfying their Fears and importunities, both to ſecure my Friends, and overcome mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving My ſelf of a ſole power to help or hurt any; yielding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no leſs than the Crown) to be diſpoſed of as the Two Houſes ſhall think fit during My time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealouſies in them of Me, and to live above all Jealouſies of them as to My ſelf: I deſire not to be ſafer than I wiſh them and my People. If I had the ſole actual diſpoſing of the *Militia*, I could not protect my People further than they protected Me and themſelves: ſo that the uſe of the *Militia* is mutual. I would but defend My ſelf ſo far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who, conſcious to their own evil merits and deſigns, will needs perſwade the world, That none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught my Subjects, ſince Power hath been wreſted from Me, and employed againſt Me and them, That neither can be ſafe, if both be not in ſuch a way as the Law hath entruſted the publick ſafety and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſſion of Mine as to the exerciſe of the *Militia*, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory to ſome men; which ſeem to be Enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to Poſterity ſuch Jealouſies of the Crown, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights in point of Power, to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honor and Juſtice due to my Succeſſors forbids Me to yield to ſuch a total alienation of that Power from them, which Civility and Duty (no leſs than Juſtice and Honor) ſhould have forbad them to have asked of Me.

For although I can be content to eclipſe My own beams, to ſatisfie their fears, who think they muſt needs be ſcorched, or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſtre of Kingly Power wherewith God and the Laws have inveſted Me: yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Poſterity and ſucceeding Kings, whoſe juſt recovery of their Rights from unjuſt Uſurpations and extortions ſhall never be prejudiced or obſtructed by any Act of Mine; which indeed would not be more injurious to ſucceeding Kings than to my Subjects, whom I deſire to leave in a condition not wholly deſperate for the future, ſo as by a Law to be ever ſubjected to thoſe many fa-

ctious Diſtractions which muſt needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it makes a ſhew to the People to have more eyes to foreſee, ſo they will finde it hath more mouths too which muſt be ſatisfied; and (at beſt) it hath rather a monſtroſity, than any thing of perfection beyond that of right Monarchy, where Counſel may be in many as the Senſes, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Haply, when men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow my enforced darkneſs and Eclipſe (occaſioned by the interpoſition and ſhadow of that Body, which, as the Moon, receiveth its chiefeſt light from Me,) they will at length more eſteem and welcome the reſtored glory and bleſſing of the Sun's light.

And if at preſent I may ſeem by my receding ſo much from the uſe of my Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come ſhort of the diſcharge of that Truſt to which I am ſworn for my Peoples protection; I conceive thoſe men are guilty of the enforced Perjury, (if ſo it may ſeem) who compel Me to take this new and ſtrange way of diſcharging my Truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; of protecting my Subjects, by expoſing My ſelf to Danger or Diſhonor for their ſafety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civil war, and advantages of Power, cannot be effected but by

by ſome ſide yielding: to which the greateſt love of the Publick Peace, and the firmeſt aſſurance of God's protection (ariſing from a good Conſcience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from other mens Fears, which ariſing from the Injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſsful) yet dare not adventure their Authors upon any other way of ſafety than that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defences againſt the ſtrokes of Divine Vengeance, which will overtake, or of mens own Conſciences, which always attend injurious perpetrations.

For My ſelf, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential neceſſity is pleaſed to take from Me, in order to my Peoples tranquillity and God's Glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for Me; and he is able, by his being with Me, abundantly to compenſate to Me, as he did to *Job*, whatever Honor, Power, or Liberty the *Chaldæans*, the *Sabæans*, or the Devil himſelf can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Arms and *Militia*, all refuge by Land of Forts and Caſtles, all flight by Sea in my Ships and Navy, yea though they ſtudy to rob Me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greateſt treaſure and beſt ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive Me of my own Innocency or God's Mercy, nor obſtruct my way to Heaven.

THEREFORE, O my God, to Thee I flie for help: if Thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with Me than can be againſt Me.

There is none in Heaven or in Earth that I deſire in compariſon of Thee. In the loſs of all, be Thou more than all to Me. Make haſt to ſuccor Me, Thou that never faileſt them that put their truſt in Thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt Me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for Me: But my eyes are toward Thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; if not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If Thou delighteſt not in my ſafety and proſperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what Thou wilt have Me, whoſe Judgements oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that Thou mayeſt be all.

Thou haſt taught Me, That no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet Thou canſt ſave Me by the multitude of thy Mercies, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of Mercies.

Help Me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide: yet be Thou on my ſide, and I ſhall not fear what man can do unto Me.

I will give thy Juſtice the glory of my diſtreſs.

O let thy Mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that perſecute my Soul.

By my Sins have I fought againſt Thee, and robbed Thee of thy Glory, who am thy Subject; and juſtly mayſt Thou by my own Subjects ſtrip Me of my ſtrength, and eclipſe my glory.

But ſhew thy ſelf, O my hope and onely refuge. Let not mine Enemies ſay, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my foot-ſteps ſlip not.

Keep Me as the apple of thine eye, hide Me under the ſhadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindneſs, O Thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in Thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them;

From the wicked that oppreſs Me, from my deadly enemies that compaſs Me about.

Shew Me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſs of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

XI.

Upon the Nineteen Propoſitions firſt ſent to the King; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things they demand, yet if theſe be all, I am glad to ſee at what price they ſet My own ſafety and my Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, ſave only the parting with my Conſcience and Honour. If

nothing elſe will ſatisfie, I muſt chuſe rather to be as miſerable and inglorious as my Enemies can make or wiſh Me.

Some things here propounded to Me have been offered by Me; others are eaſily granted: The reſt (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me with the point of the Sword, nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them without violating my Conſcience. 'Tis ſtrange, there can be no method of Peace, but by making war upon my Soul.

Here are many things required of Me, but I ſee nothing offer'd to Me by the way of grateful exchange of Honour; or any requital for thoſe Favours I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do Me, to put Me on the giving part, which is more Princely and Divine. They cannot ask more than I can give, may I but reſerve to My ſelf the incommunicable Jewel of my Conſcience, and not be forced to part with that whoſe loſs nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeem unreaſonable to Me; and while I have any maſtery of my Reaſon, how can they think I can conſent to them? who know they are ſuch as are inconſiſtent with being either a King, or a good Chriſtian. My yielding ſo much as I have already

dy makes ſome men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples Peace hath (indeed) great influence upon Me; but the love of Truth and inward Peace hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken my outward ſtate of a King, as wound that inward quiet of my Conſcience, which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be (by Gods grace) dearer to Me than my Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at ſome time to be denied to ſome men; leſt he ſhould ſeem not to dare to deny any thing, and give too much incouragement to unreaſonable demands and importunities.

But to bind My ſelf to a general and implicite conſent to whatever they ſhall deſire or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blind obedience as never was expected from any Freeman, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſs of a King by his own Subjects; any of whom he may poſſibly exceed as much in Wiſdom, as he doth in Place and Power.

This were, as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſented, not only to bind his own hands and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philiſtines* might with the more ſafety mock and abuſe him; which they choſe

rather to do, than quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, and fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, ſeems an arrogancy leaſt of all becoming thoſe who pretend to make their Addreſſes in an humble and loyal way of petitioning; who by that ſufficiently confeſs their own inferiority, which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted, with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superior thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reaſon, to conſent or diſſent, elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be my right belonging to Me in reaſon as a Man, and in Honour as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other than extreme injury to confine my Reaſon to a neceſſity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whoſe mindes may be as differing from Mine both in Reaſon and Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are? which laſt God and the Laws have ſufficiently diſtinguiſht, making Me their Soveraign, and them My Subjects: whoſe Propoſitions may ſoon prove violent Oppoſitions, if once they gain to be neceſſary Impoſitions upon the Regal Authority; ſince no man ſeeks to limit and confine his King in Reaſon, who hath not a ſe-

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cret aim to ſhare with him, or uſurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Me truſt to their moderation, and abandon Mine own diſcretion; that ſo I might verifie what repreſentations ſome have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupil than their Prince. Truly I am not ſo confident of My own ſufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counſel of others: But yet I am not ſo diffident of My ſelf, as brutiſhly to ſubmit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reaſon in my Soul, and the Majeſty of My own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce Me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires of thoſe men who will not admit, or do refuſe and neglect to vindicate, the freedom of their own and others ſitting and voting in Parliament.

Beſides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men the moſt part of theſe propounders are: ſo that till experience of one ſeven years hath ſhewed Me how well they can Govern Themſelves, and ſo much Power as is wreſted from Me, I ſhould be very fooliſh indeed, and unfaithful in my Truſt, to put the reins of both Reaſon and Government wholly out of My own into their hands, whoſe driving is already too much like *Jehu*'s, and whoſe forwardneſs to aſcend

aſcend the throne of Supremacy portends more of *Phaeton* than of *Phœbus*. God divert the Omen, if it be his will.

They may remember, that at beſt they ſit in Parliament as my Subjects, not my Superiors; called to be my Counſellors, not Dictators: Their Summons extends to recommend their Advice, not to command My Duty.

When I firſt heard of Propoſitions to be ſent Me, I expected either ſome good Laws, which had been antiquated by the courſe of time or overlai'd by the corruption of manners, had been deſired to a reſtauration of their vigour and due execution; or ſome evil Cuſtoms preterlegal and abuſes perſonal had been to be removed; or ſome injuries done by My ſelf and others to the Commonweal were to be repaired; or ſome equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of my Crown being conſidered by them, might fairly induce Me to condeſcend to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of My ſelf, whom Nature, Law, Reaſon and Religion bind Me (in the firſt place) to preſerve, without which 'tis impoſſible to preſerve my People according to my place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſs in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the Foundation and Eſſentials of

of Government in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the Wiſdom and Piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſal practice of Chriſtian Churches, the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: nor yet any thing offered in lieu or in the room of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution, and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reform its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeal and ſpecial piety, but with pregnant and ſolid Reaſons, both Divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſs and neceſſity of ſuch vaſt alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerve little of theſe kinds or to theſe ends: Nothing of any Laws diſ-joynted, which are to be reſtored, of any Right invaded, of any Juſtice to be unobſtructed, of any Compenſations to be made, of any impartial Reformation to be granted; to all or any of which Reaſon, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives might induce Me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great Novelty or Difficulty; I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schiſms in the Church, and ſo puniſhable by the Laws, have now the confidence,

fidence, by vulgar clamors and aſſiſtance (chiefly,) to demand not only Toleſations of themſelves in their vanity, novelty and confuſion, but alſo Abolition of the Laws againſt them, and a total extirpation of that Government whoſe Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the main: Other Propoſitions are (for the moſt part) but as waſte paper, in which thoſe are wrapped up, to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomly.

Nor do I ſo much wonder at the variety and horrible novelty of ſome Propoſitions (there being nothing ſo monſtrous, which ſome fancies are not prone to long for:)

This caſts Me into, not an Admiration, but an Ecſtaſie, how ſuch things ſhould have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the Two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*; among whom I am very confident there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſe, whoſe Judgments free, ſingle and apart, did approve or deſire ſuch deſtructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perſwaded there remains in far the major part of both Houſes (if free and full) ſo much Learning, Reaſon, Religion, and juſt Moderation, as to know how to ſever between the uſe and the abuſe of things, the inſtitution and the corruption, the Government and the miſ-government, the Primi-

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tive Patterns and the aberrations or blottings of after-Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon ſo little or no Reaſon (as yet produced to the contrary) ſo ſoon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquity, to the Piety of their Reforming Progenitors, to the Proſperity of former times in this Church and State under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatality, theſe men ſuffer, either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence, or ſupine credulity, (believing that all is good which is gilded with ſhews of Zeal and Reformation) their private diſſenting in Judgment to be drawn into the common ſewer or ſtream of the preſent vogue and humor; which hath its chief riſe and abetment from thoſe Popular Clamors and Tumults, which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men, who ſtudied with all diligence and policy to improve to their Innovating deſigns the preſent Diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in my Judgment, of Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be back'd and ſeconded with Armies of Soldiers. Though the ſecond ſhould prevail againſt my Perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome Me, further than I ſee cauſe; for I look not at their Number and Power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had

Had the Two Houſes firſt ſued out their Livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the Cry and Hollow of thoſe men who hunt after Factious and private Deſigns, to the ruine of Church and State:)

Did my Judgment tell Me, that the Propoſitions ſent to Me were the Reſults of the major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedom, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament; I ſhould then ſuſpect My own Judgment, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For I have Charity enough to think there are wiſe men among them; and Humility to think that, as in ſome things I may want, ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe their Advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdom ſuch a compleatneſs and inerrability as to exclude My ſelf; ſince none of them hath that Part to act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honor to preſerve, as My ſelf; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in all Natures productions) they cannot beget or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wiſdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſs of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to Me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of

of thoſe in their major number, who are of right to ſit and Vote in Parliament.

For many of them ſavor very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation, which in my two laſt famous Predeceſſors days heaved at, and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments; but, I am ſure, was never wont ſo far to infect the whole maſs of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, however it diſperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire and affect ſo enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice and Judgment.

Not that I am ignorant how the choice of many Members was carried by much Faction in the Countreys; ſome thirſting after nothing more than a paſſionate revenge of whatever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt Me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids Me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed and many-handed Tumults.

No leſs doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State, command Me to chew ſuch morſels before I let them down. If the ſtraitneſs of my Conſcience will not give Me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels as others do of Sacriledge and Injuſtice both

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to God and Man, they have no more cauſe to quarrel with Me than for this, that my throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am reſolved, that nothing of Paſſion, or Peeviſhneſs, or liſt to contradict, or vanity to ſhew my Negative Power, ſhall have any byaſs upon my Judgment, to make Me gratifie my Will, by denying any thing which my Reaſon and Conſcience commands Me not.

Nor on the other ſide will I conſent to more than Reaſon, Juſtice, Honor and Religion perſwade Me to be for God's glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own Peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie my Parliament and my People; but I will never, for fear or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever; for this were to nouriſh the Diſeaſe, and oppreſs the body.

Although many mens Loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving Me that free and faithful Counſel which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder Me from craving of the Counſel of that mighty Counſellor, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline my Heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

O Thou firſt and Eternal Reaſon, whoſe Wiſdom is fortified with Omnipotency, furniſh thy Servant firſt with clear diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon and Juſtice in my Underſtanding; then

ſo

ſo confirm my Will and reſolution to adhere to them, that no Terrors, Injuries or Oppreſſions of my Enemies may ever inforce Me againſt thoſe rules which Thou by them haſt planted in my Conſcience.

Thou never madeſt Me a King, that I ſhould be leſs than a Man, and not dare to ſay Yea or Nay, as I ſee cauſe; which freedom is not denied to the meaneſt creature that hath the uſe of Reaſon and liberty of Speech.

Shall that be blamable in Me, which is commendable veracity and conſtancy in others?

Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, with what Partiality and Injuſtice they deny that freedom to Me their KING, which Thou haſt given to all men, and which themſelves pertinaciouſly challenge to themſelves, while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their Priviledges.

To Thee I make my Supplication, who canſt guide us by an un-erring rule through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts and other mens Propoſals; which I have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect are purpoſely caſt as Snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more intangled in thoſe difficulties wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before Me.

Let not My own ſinful Paſſions cloud or divert thy Sacred Suggeſtions.

Let thy Glory be my End, thy Word my Rule; and then thy will be done.

I cannot pleaſe all; I care not to pleaſe ſome

men: If I may be happy to pleaſe Thee, I need not fear whom I diſpleaſe.

Thou that makeſt the wiſdom of the world fooliſhneſs, and takeſt in their own devices ſuch as are wiſe in their own conceits; make Me wiſe by thy Truth, for thy Honor, my Kingdoms general good, and my own Souls Salvation; and I ſhall not much regard the Worlds opinion or diminution of Me.

The leſs Wiſdom they are willing to impute to Me, the more they ſhall be convinced of thy Wiſdom directing Me; while I deny nothing fit to be granted out of croſneſs or humor, nor grant any thing which is to be denied out of any fear or flattery of men.

Suffer Me not to be guilty or unhappy, by willing or inconſiderate advancing any mens Deſigns which are injurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by my Conſent.

Nor let Me be any occaſion to hinder or defraud the Publick of what is beſt, by any moroſe or perverſe diſſentings.

Make Me ſo humbly charitable, as to follow their Advice when it appears to be for the publick good, of whoſe Affections to me I have yet but few evidences to aſſure Me.

Thou canſt as well bleſs honeſt Errors, as blaſt fraudulent counſels.

Since we muſt give an account of every evil and idle word in private at thy Tribunal; Lord, make Me careful of thoſe ſolemn Declarations of my mind which are like to have the greateſt influence

ence upon the Publick, either for woe or weale.

The leſs others conſider what they ask, make Me the more ſolicitous what I anſwer.

Though Mine own and my Peoples Preſſures are grievous, and Peace would be very pleaſing: yet, Lord, never ſuffer Me to avoid the one, or purchaſe the other, with the leaſt expence or waſt of my Conſcience; whereof Thou, O Lord, only art deſervedly more Maſter than My ſelf.

XII.

Upon the Rebellion and Troubles in Ireland.

THE Commotions in *Ireland* were ſo ſudden and ſo violent, that it was hard at firſt either to diſcern the riſe, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed that ſea of Bloud which hath there been cruelly and barbarouſly ſhed, is enough to drown any man in eternal both infamy and miſery, whom God ſhall find the malicious Author or Inſtigator of its effuſion.

It fell out, as a moſt unhappy advantage to ſome mens Malice againſt Me, that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity ſhould be offered them, with which I muſt be aſperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to Me, being ſo full of ſin againſt God, Diſloyalty to My ſelf, and deſtructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed that what the *Iriſh* Rebels did was done with My privity (at leaſt) if not by My Commiſſion. But theſe knew too well, that it is no news for ſome of my Subjects to fight, not only without my Commiſſion, but againſt my Command and Perſon too; yet all the while to pretend they fight by My Authority, and for My Safety.

I would to God the *Iriſh* had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes than thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſs of mens Intentions excuſe the ſcandal and contagion of their Examples.

But whoever fail of their Duty toward Me, I muſt bear the blame: this Honor my Enemies have always done Me, to think moderate Injuries not proportionate to Me, nor competent trials either of my Patience under them, or my Pardon of them.

Therefore with exquiſite Malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of Falſity and Contempt with the cup of my Affliction; charging Me not only with Untruths, but ſuch as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of Loſs and Diſhonor by what is committed: whereby (in all Policy, Reaſon and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be

be repreſented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous; like ſome Cyclopick Monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink but the fleſh and bloud of my own Subjects, in whoſe common Welfare my Intereſt lies as much as ſome mens doth in their Perturbations; who think they cannot do well but in evil times, nor ſo cunningly, as in laying the *odium* of thoſe ſad events on others, wherewith themſelves are moſt pleaſed, and whereof they have been not the leaſt occaſion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wiſe men, that the prepoſterous rigour and unreaſonable ſeverity which ſome men carried before them in *England*, was not the leaſt incentive that kindled and blew up into thoſe horrid flames the ſparks of Diſcontent, which wanted not prediſpoſed fewel for Rebellion, in *Ireland*: where Deſpair being added to their former Diſcontents, and the fears of utter Extirpation to their wonted Oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome Principles of their Religion, and the natural deſires of Liberty; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after Rigours wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatned by the covetous Zeal and uncharitable Fury of ſome men, who think it a

great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with truth waſh my hands in Innocency as to any Guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in my Tears, as to the ſad apprehenſions I had to ſee it ſpread ſo far and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when Diſtractions and Jealouſies here in *England* made moſt men rather intent to their own ſafety, or deſigns they were driving, than to the relief of thoſe who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland:* whoſe Tears and Bloud might, if nothing elſe, have quenched, or at leaſt for a time repreſſed and ſmothered, thoſe ſparks of Civil Diſſentions and Jealouſies which in *England* ſome men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſs affected with *Ireland*'s ſad eſtate than My ſelf. I offered to go My ſelf in Perſon upon that expedition: But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdom quieted; or loth they were to ſhoot at any mark here leſs than My ſelf; or that any ſhould have the glory of my Deſtruction but themſelves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the Ruine had been ſo great, nor the Calamity ſo long, nor the Remedy ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe who began that Rebellion, theirs muſt needs be, who

who either hindred the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick Diſſentions, or diverted the Aids, or exaſperated the Rebels to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all Extremities, not only to the known Heads and chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; reſolving to deſtroy Root and branch, men, women and children, without any regard to thoſe uſual pleas for Mercy which Conquerors, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts in behalf of thoſe whoſe oppreſſive Fears, rather than their Malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecillity for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left. Which prepoſterous and (I think) un-evangelical Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, than to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities for the repulſe or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacob*'s Sons, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremities which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacy, than to apply moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary Juſtice, yet diſarm others, with tenders of mercy upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them from the fury of thoſe who would ſoon drown them if they refuſed to

ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kind of Zeal counts all merciful moderation Lukewarmneſs, and had rather be cruel than counted cold, and is not ſeldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, than for any harm he hath done; the confiſcation of mens Eſtates being more beneficial, than the Charity of ſaving their Lives, or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and overborn with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) was diverted and obſtructed here, I was earneſtly entreated and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtant party there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſs by Miracle) to preſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped. God knows with how much Commiſeration and ſolicitous Caution I carried on that buſineſs, by perſons of Honour and Integrity, that ſo I might neither incourage the Rebels Inſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort that the neceſſity and difficulty of affairs would then permit, I was then to ſuffer again in my Reputation and Honour, becauſe I ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought that in all reaſon, the gaining of that reſpite could not be ſo much to the Rebels advantages (which ſome have highly calumniated againſt Me) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future as well as preſent ſafety; if during the time of that Ceſſation, ſome men had had the grace to have laid *Ireland*'s ſad condition more to heart, and laid aſide thoſe violent motions which were here carried on by thoſe that had better skill to let bloud than to ſtanch it.

But in all the miſconſtructions of my Actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is falſe and evil, than love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above Me; ſo I can have comfort to appeal to his Omniſcience, who doth not therefore deny my Innocence, becauſe he is pleaſed ſo far to try my Patience, as he did his ſervant *Job*'s.

I have enough to do to look to my own Conſcience, and the faithful diſcharge of my Truſt as a KING: I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarms of reproaches which iſſue out of ſome mens mouths and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke or ſparks do out of a furnace; much leſs to make ſuch prolix Apologies as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction, who conſcious to their own depth of wickedneſs, are loth to believe any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to hear the other.

I thank God, I can hear with patience as bad as my worſt Enemies can falſly ſay: and I hope I ſhall ſtill do better than they deſire or deſerve I ſhould.

I believe it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroil my other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not timely ſtopping, thoſe horrid effuſions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies pleaſe to ſay or think) I look upon, as that of my other Kingdoms, exhauſted out of My own veins; no man being ſo much weakned by it as My ſelf. And I hope, though mens unſatiable Cruelties never will, yet the Mercy of God will at length ſay to his Juſtice, *It is enough*; and command the Sword of Civil wars to ſheath it ſelf: his merciful Juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter Confuſion, but our Cure; the abatement of our Sins, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

O MY God, let thoſe infinite Mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerve ſhould be reſtored.

Thou ſeeſt how much Cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if

we

we could not be Chriſtians, unleſs we crucifie one another.

Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiſed in Charity, Thou haſt ſuffered a ſpirit of Error and bitterneſs, of mutual and mortal Hatred to ariſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our Repentance be our Recovery, as our great Sins have been our Ruine.

Let not the Miſeries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered ſeem ſmall to Thee: but make our Sins appear to our Conſciences as they are repreſented in the glaſs of thy Judgments; for Thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere Afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great Mercies pardon our Sins; and remove thy Judgments, which are very many and very heavy.

Yet let our Sins be ever more grievous to us than thy Judgments; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved: firſt give us the Peace of penitent Conſciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdoms.

In the ſea of our Saviours Bloud drown our Sins; and through this Red ſea of our own bloud bring us at laſt to a ſtate of Piety, Peace and Plenty.

As my publick relations to all make Me ſhare in all my Subjects ſufferings; ſo give Me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them as becomes a Chriſtian King,

King, and a loving Father of my People.

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt Reproaches caſt upon Me be as a breath, more to kindle my Compaſſion: Give Me grace to heap Charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe Malice or cruel Zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of thoſe Flames, which have ſo much waſted my Three Kingdoms.

O reſcue and aſſiſt thoſe poor Proteſtants in Ireland *whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.*

And lead thoſe in the ways of thy ſaving Truths, whoſe Ignorance or Errors have filled them with Rebellious and deſtructive Principles; which they act under an opinion that they do Thee good ſervice.

Let the hand of thy Juſtice be againſt thoſe who maliciouſly and deſpitefully have raiſed or fomented thoſe cruel and deſperate Wars.

Thou that art far from deſtroying the innocent with the guilty, and the erroneous with the malicious, Thou that hadſt pity on Nineveh *for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole ſtock of that populous and ſeduced Nation to the wrath of thoſe whoſe Covetouſneſs makes them Cruel; nor to their Anger, which is too fierce, and therefore juſtly curſed.*

Preſerve, if it be thy will, in the midſt of the furnace of thy ſevere Juſtice, a Poſterity which may praiſe Thee for thy Mercy.

And deal with Me, not according to mans unjuſt Reproaches, but according to the Innocency of my hands in thy ſight.

If

If I have deſired or delighted in the woful day of my Kingdoms Calamities, if I have not earneſtly ſtudied and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloudy Diſtractions; then let thy hand be againſt Me and my Fathers houſe. O Lord, Thou ſeeſt I have Enemies enough of men; as I need not, ſo I ſhould not dare thus to imprecate thy Curſe on Me and Mine, if my Conſcience did not witneſs my Integrity, which Thou, O Lord, knoweſt right well. But I truſt not to My own Merit, but thy Mercies. Spare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

XIII.

Upon the Calling in of the Scots, *and their Coming.*

THE *Scots* are a Nation upon whom I have not only common ties of Nature, Soveraignty and Bounty, with my Father of Bleſſed memory; but alſo ſpecial and late obligations of Favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them ſo far, that I ſeemed to many to prefer the deſires of that Party before My own intereſt and Honour. But, I ſee, Royal bounty emboldens ſome men to ask and act beyond all bounds of Modeſty and Gratitude.

My Charity and Act of Pacification forbids Me to reflect on former paſſages; where-

wherein I ſhall ever be far from letting any mans Ingratitude or Inconſtancy make Me repent of what I granted them for the publick good. I pray God it may ſo prove.

The coming again of that Party into *England* with an Army, only to conform this Church to their late New model, cannot but ſeem as unreaſonable, as they would have thought the ſame meaſure offered from hence to themſelves.

Other Errand I could never underſtand they had, (beſides thoſe common and vulgar flouriſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave only to confirm the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which deſign and End, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent Means before the Divine Juſtice, I leave to their Conſciences to judge who have already felt the miſery of the Means, but not reaped the benefit of the End, either in this Kingdom or that.

Such knots and croſneſs of grain being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that Form which they cry up as the only juſt Reformation, and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to go on ſo ſmoothly here as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, through levity

levity or diſcontent, if no worſe Paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Preſbytery.

It cannot but ſeem either Paſſion or ſome Self-ſeeking, more than true Zeal and pious Diſcretion, for any foreign State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicines only for others, which themſelves have uſed rather ſucceſsfully than commendably: not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions will have different operations; that may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any ſuch tough and malignant Humors in the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Church, which gentler applications than thoſe of an Army might not eaſily have removed: Nor is it ſo proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to poliſh them by fair and equal Diſputations among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the Differences, whom not Force but Reaſon ought to convince.

But their deſign now ſeemed rather to cut off all Diſputation here, than to procure a fair and equal one: For it was concluded there, that the *Engliſh* Clergy muſt conform to the *Scots* pattern, before ever they could be heard what they could ſay for themſelves, or againſt the others way.

I could have wiſhed fairer proceedings, both

both for their credits who urge things with ſuch Violence, and for other mens Conſciences too, who can receive little ſatisfaction in theſe Points, which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, than Scholars diſputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure, in matters of Religion, thoſe Truths gain moſt on mens Judgements and Conſciences which are leaſt urged with ſecular Violence, which weakens Truth with Prejudices; and is unreaſonable to be uſed, till ſuch means of rational Conviction have been applied, as leaving no excuſe for Ignorance, condemns mens Obſtinacy to deſerved penalties.

Which no Charity will eaſily ſuſpect of ſo many Learned and Pious Church-men in *England*; who being always bred up, and conformable to the Government of Epiſcopacy, cannot ſo ſoon renounce both their former Opinion and practice, only becauſe that Party of the *Scots* will needs by Force aſſiſt a like Party here, either to drive all Miniſters as ſheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or deſtroy them, at leaſt fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* ſole Presbytery were proved to be the only inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Chriſt had given thoſe *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects, Commiſſion by the Sword to ſet it up

up in any of My Kingdoms without My conſent.

What reſpect and obedience Chriſt and his Apoſtles pay'd to the chief Governors of States where they lived, is very clear in the Goſpel: but that he or they ever commanded to ſet up ſuch a Parity of Presbyters, and in ſuch a way as thoſe *Scots* endeavour, I think is not very diſputable.

If Presbytery, in ſuch a ſupremacy, be an inſtitution of Chriſt, ſure it differs from all others, and is the firſt and only Point of Chriſtianity that was to be planted and watered with ſo much Chriſtian bloud; whoſe effuſions run in a ſtream ſo contrary to that of the Primitive Planters both of Chriſtianity and Epiſcopacy, which was with patient ſhedding of their own bloud, not violent drawing other mens. Sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Chriſt, none of whoſe inſtitutions were carried on or begun with the temptations of Covetouſneſs or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently ſuſpected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point which thoſe *Scots* had by Army or Commiſſioners to move Me with, by their many ſolemn Obteſtations and pious Threatnings, but only this, To repreſent to Me the wonderful neceſſity of ſetting up their Preſbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miſeries of a War; which ſome men chiefly

on this deſign at firſt had begun, and now further engaged themſelves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schiſms or Hereſies, if they can get but numbers, ſtrength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, ſet up their ways by the like methods of violence? All which Presbytery ſeeks to ſuppreſs, and render odious under thoſe Names: when Wiſe and Learned men think that nothing hath more marks of Schiſm and Sectariſm than this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and ſtill moſt Univerſal way of the Church-Government, and ſpecially as to the particular Laws and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh* Church; which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for Me, till I ſee more Rational and Religious motives than Souldiers uſe to carry in their Knapſacks.

But we muſt leave the ſucceſs of all to God, who hath many ways (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our Opinions, and fury of our Paſſion) to teach us thoſe Rules of true Reaſon and peaceable Wiſdom which is from above, tending moſt to God's glory and his Churches good: which I think My ſelf ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend with the moſt judicious zeal and care, by how much I eſteem the Church above the State, the glory of Chriſt above Mine own, and the Salvation of

of mens Souls above the Preſervation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Nor may any men, I think, without ſin and preſumption, forcibly endeavour to caſt the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied and faſhioned to their deſigns, till they have firſt gained My conſent, and reſolved both my own and other mens Conſciences by the ſtrength of their Reaſons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Chriſtian nor Loyal, ſhall never either ſhake or ſettle My Religion; nor any mans elſe who knows what Religion means, and how far it is removed from all Faction, whoſe proper engine is Force, the Arbitrator of Beaſts, not of reaſonable Men, much leſs of humble Chriſtians and loyal Subjects in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have ſuch high conceits of themſelves, that they care not what coſt they lay out upon their Opinions; eſpecially thoſe that have ſome temptations of Gain, to recompence their loſſes and hazards.

Yet I was not more ſcandalized at the *Scots* Armies coming in againſt my will, and their forfeiture of ſo many Obligations of Duty and Gratitude to Me, than I wondred how thoſe here could ſo much diſtruſt God's aſſiſtance, who ſo much pretended God's Cauſe to the People, as if they had the cer-

tainty of ſome Divine Revelation: conſidering they were more than competently furniſhed with my Subjects Arms and Ammunition, my Navy by Sea, my Forts, Caſtles and Cities by Land.

But I finde, that Men jealous of the juſtifiableneſs of their doings and deſigns before God, never think they have humane ſtrength enough to carry their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People. What cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come in to their Aſſiſtance, others of them ſoon after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a ſetledneſs by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once deſpiſing the Kirk-Government and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the Succeſs of ſo chargeable, more than charitable, Aſſiſtance. For ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed at a far cheaper rate the Truth and Happineſs of Reformed Government and Diſcipline (if it had been wanting,) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendom for their Advice in a full and free Synod: which I was ever willing to and deſirous of, that matters being impartially

tially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all and more durable.

But much of Gods Juſtice and Mans Folly will at length be diſcovered through all the films and pretenſions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their deſigns: In vain do men hope to build their Piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can thoſe confederations or deſigns be durable, when Subjects make Bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But as my beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted Me; ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from Me, in a Prodigality of their love and reſpects toward Me, as to make Me to deſpair of their return: when beſides the bonds of Nature and Conſcience which they have to Me, all Reaſon and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their Fidelity to the Crown, not in their ſerviceableneſs to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of my Safety and Honour for their own advantages. However, the leſs cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply My ſelf to GOD.

THE troubles of my Soul are enlarged: O Lord, bring Thou Me out of my diſtreſs.

Lord, direct thy Servant in the ways of that Pious Simplicity, which is the beſt Policy.

Deliver Me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe, who have ſo much of the Serpents Subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail againſt my Soul, to the betraying of my Conſcience and Honor.

Thou, O Lord, canſt turn the hearts of thoſe Parties in both Nations, as Thou didſt the men of Judah *and* Iſrael, *to reſtore* David *with as much loyal zeal, as they did with inconſtancy and eagerneſs purſue him.*

Preſerve the love of thy Truth and Uprightneſs in Me, and I ſhall not deſpair of my Subjects affections returning towards Me.

Thou canſt ſoon cauſe the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which Thou haſt appointed for them.

O My God, I truſt in Thee: let Me not be aſhamed; let not my Enemies triumph over Me.

Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſs without a cauſe: let them be turned back that perſecute my Soul.

Let Integrity and Uprightneſs preſerve Me, for I wait on Thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

Upon

XIV.
Upon the Covenant.

THE Presbyterian *Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in have pawned their Souls to them by a Solemn League and Covenant:

Where many engines of Religious and fair pretensions are brought, chiefly to batter or raze Episcopacy. This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemn a Charm and Exorcism be cast out of this Church, after more than a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it: Presbytery, like a young Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough; and impatient not to be in the Bishops-Chair and Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all Art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*, which was lately buoyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unſatisfied with many paſſages in that Covenant (ſome referring to My ſelf with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the deſign and drift touching the Diſcipline and Government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new ways, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no leſs than ſwearing for or againſt thoſe things which are of no clear Moral neceſſity, but very diſputable, and controverted among Learned and Godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that Judgment and certainty in ones ſelf, or that Charity and candor to others of different Opinion, as I think Religion requires; which never refuſes fair and equable Deliberations, yea and Diſſentings too in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People, muſt needs in things doubtful be dangerous, as in things unlawful damnable; and no leſs ſuperfluous, where former Religious and Legal Engagements bound men ſufficiently to all neceſſary duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant with that former Proteſtation which was ſo lately taken, To maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But

But ambitious mindes never think they have laid ſnares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity; for by ſuch politick and ſeemingly-pious Stratagems they think to keep the populacy faſt to their Parties, under the terror of Perjury: Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and Man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared Party, without My conſent, and without any like power or precedent from God's or Mans Laws, be ever thought by judicious men ſufficient either to abſolve or ſlacken thoſe Moral and Eternal bonds of Duty, which lie upon all my Subjects Conſciences, both to God and Me.

Yet as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or Me by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawful ways; ſince I have the Charity to think, that the chief End of the Covenant in ſuch mens intentions was, To preſerve Religion in Purity, and the Kingdoms in Peace: to other than ſuch ends and means they cannot think themſelves engaged. Nor will thoſe that have any true touches of Conſcience endeavour to carry on the beſt deſigns (much leſs ſuch as are and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawful means,

means, under that Title of the *Covenant*: unleſs they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous and unauthorized Novelties before their known and ſworn Duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My ſelf.

I am prone to believe and hope, that many who took the Covenant are yet firm to this Judgment, That ſuch later Vows, Oaths or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings and characters which by juſt and lawful Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of Solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected is, That they are the common road uſed in all Factions and powerful Perturbations of State or Church: Where formalities of extraordinary Zeal and Piety are never more ſtudied and elaborate, than when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſigns againſt all that is ſetled or ſacred in Religion and Laws; which by ſuch ſcrews are cunningly, yet forcibly, wreſted by ſecret ſteps and leſs ſenſible degrees from their known Rule and wonted Practice, to comply with the Humours of thoſe men who aim to ſubdue all to their own Will and Power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and withes will hold mens Conſciences no longer than Force attends and twiſts them: For every man ſoon grows his own Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelf of thoſe

thoſe ties which, not the commands of Gods Word, or the Laws of the Land, but only the ſubtilty and terror of a Party caſts upon him; either ſuperfluous and vain, when they were ſufficiently tyed before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after-ligaments they find the Impoſers really aiming to diſſolve or ſuſpend their former juſt and neceſſary Obligations.

Indeed, ſuch Illegal ways ſeldom or never intend the engaging men more to Duties, but only to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of Piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Deſign intended.

I ſee the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh who will but ſwallow it: They admit any mens ſenſes of it, though diverſe or contrary, with any Salvo's, Cautions and Reſervations; ſo as they croſs not their chief Deſign, which is laid againſt the Church and Me.

It is enough, if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming encreaſe to their Party: So little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſe, I believe many that love Me and the Church well may have taken the Covenant, who are yet not ſo fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now

to

to act clearly againſt both all Piety and Loyalty: who firſt yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent Violence and Ruine which hung over their heads, in caſe they wholly refuſed it, than for any value of it or devotion to it.

Wherein the latitude of ſome general clauſes may (perhaps) ſerve ſomewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: For theſe (indeed) carry no man beyond thoſe bounds of good Conſcience which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Laws, as to the general, or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exerciſe of mens duties.

I would to God ſuch as glory moſt in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themſelves within thoſe lawful bounds to which God hath called them: ſurely it were the beſt way to expiate the raſhneſs of taking it: which muſt needs then appear, when beſides the want of a full and lawful Authority at firſt to enjoyn it, it ſhall actually be carried on beyond and againſt thoſe Ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive ſuch mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within ſuch bounds of Piety, Law and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My ſelf, or the Publick Peace: againſt which no mans lawful Calling can engage him.

As

As for that Reformation of the Church which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it juſt or comely, that by the partial Advice of a few Divines, (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former Judgments, Profeſſion and Practice) ſuch foul Scandals and Suſpicions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of Learning and Candor at home: all whoſe Judgments I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiouſly engaged.

No man can be more forward than My ſelf, to carry on all due Reformations with mature Judgment and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartial advice) be by Gods Word and right Reaſon convinced to be amiſs. I have offered more than ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequel of ſome mens actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended is, The abaſing of Epiſcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their legal Rights, than the Biſhops and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deer, muſt be deſtroyed;

ed; the other Raſcal-herd of Schiſms, Hereſies, *&c.* being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration. Thus *Naboth*'s Vineyard made him the only Blaſphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still, I ſee, while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compaſs by which Factious men ſteer their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the Sacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churches Lands and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert only to the Crown with My Conſent;) ſo I have always had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in my Soul, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch Sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not only what the pious Munificence of my Predeceſſors hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian Bounty.

But no neceſſity ſhall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts Lands, which both *Pharaoh*'s divinity and *Joſeph*'s true Piety abhorred to do: So unjuſt I think it both in the eye of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt Sacred employment of all due incouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encreaſe the Task; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the Red

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ſea of a Civil War, where nothing but a Miracle can ſave either It, or Him who eſteems it his greateſt Title to be called, and his chiefeſt glory to be, *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith and its juſt Fruitions, equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apoſtaſie.*

I had rather live, as my Predeceſſor *Henry* the Third ſometime did, on the Churches Alms, than violently to take the bread out of Biſhops and Miniſters mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam*'s Reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe Golden Calves who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts and People, is well enough known: And ſo it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance who have already diſcovered what hard Fathers and Stepmothers they will be.

If the Poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the Plenty of *England* cannot excuſe the Envy and Rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad Conſequences which will inevitably follow the Parity and Poverty of Miniſters, both in Church and State; ſince I think

think it no leſs than a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs whoſe occaſions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans ſin not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There are ways enough to repair the Breaches of the State without the Ruines of the Church: as I would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an Oppreſſor of the other, under the pretence of Publick Debts: The occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would be much worſe. I pray God neither I nor Mine may be acceſſary to either.

TO Thee, O Lord, do I addreſs my Prayer, beſeeching Thee to pardon the raſhneſs of my Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, moral and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word and the Laws of this Kingdom have laid upon their Conſciences: From which no pretenſions of Piety and Reformation are ſufficient to abſolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practices.

Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, that nothing Violent and Injurious can be Religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge, under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not Sacrilegious deſigns to have the countenance of Religious ties.

Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a ſnare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry. Ever

Ever keep thy Servant from conſenting to Perjurious and Sacrilegious Rapines, that I may not have the brand and curſe to all poſterity, of robbing Thee and thy Church of what thy Bounty hath given us, and thy Clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though my Treaſures are exhauſted, my Revenues diminiſhed, and my Debts encreaſed, yet never ſuffer Me to be tempted to uſe ſuch profane Reparations; leſt a Coal from thine Altar ſet ſuch a fire on my Throne and Conſcience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which ſome mens Folly and Prodigality hath contracted, be an occaſion to impoveriſh thy Church.

The State may ſoon recover by thy bleſſing of Peace upon us; the Church is never likely, in Times where the Charity of moſt men is grown ſo cold and their Religion ſo illiberal.

Continue to thoſe that ſerve Thee and thy Church all thoſe Incouragements which by the will of the pious Donors and the Juſtice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deſerve and uſe them aright to thy Glory, and the relief of the Poor: That thy Prieſts may be cloathed with Righteouſneſs, and the Poor may be ſatisfied with bread.

Let not Holy things be given to Swine, nor the Churches bread to Dogs: rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not ſatisfied.

Let thoſe Sacred morſels, which ſome men have already by violence devoured, never digeſt with them nor theirs: Let them be as Naboth's *Vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their mouths, rottenneſs to their names, a moth to their Families, and a ſting to their Conſciences.*

Break in ſunder, O Lord, all violent and Sacrilegious Confederations to do wickedly and injuriouſly.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandied together againſt the Church and State; that the Folly of ſuch may be manifeſt to all men, and proceed no further.

But ſo favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the Mercies of Thee, the moſt High, I may never miſcarry.

XV.

Upon the many Jealouſies raiſed, and Scandals caſt upon the King, *to ſtir up the People againſt Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency and Gods Protection, it were hard for Me to ſtand out againſt thoſe ſtratagems and conflicts of Malice which by Falſities ſeek to oppreſs the Truth, and by Jealouſies to ſupply the defect of Real cauſes, which might ſeem to juſtifie ſo unjuſt Engagements againſt Me.

And indeed, the worſt effects of open Hoſtility come ſhort of theſe Deſigns: For I can

can more willingly loſe my Crowns than my Credit; nor are my Kingdoms ſo dear to Me as my Reputation and Honour.

Thoſe muſt have a period with my Life; but theſe may ſurvive to a glorious kind of Immortality when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a ſweet conſecrating of them to an Eternity of Love and Gratitude among Poſterity.

Thoſe foul and falſe Aſperſions were ſecret engines at firſt employed againſt my Peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, my Enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their Affections, and batter down their Loyalty.

Wherein yet (I thank God) the detriment of my Honour is not ſo afflictive to Me, as the ſin and danger of my Peoples Souls, whoſe eyes once blinded with ſuch miſts of Suſpicions, they are ſoon miſ-led into the moſt deſperate precipices of actions: wherein they do not only not conſider their Sin and Danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them ſo fit to be deſtroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of my Deſtroyers, imagining they then fear God moſt, when they leaſt honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but my Pity was above my Anger; nor have my Paſſions ever ſo prevailed againſt Me, as to exclude

my moſt compaſſionate Prayers for them whom devout Errors, more than their own Malice, have betrayed to a moſt Religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that moſt part of my Subjects fought againſt my ſuppoſed Errors, not my Perſon; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me. And I hope that God pardoning their Errors, hath ſo far accepted and anſwered their good Intentions, that as he hath yet preſerved Me, ſo he hath by theſe Afflictions prepared Me both to do Him better ſervice, and my people more good than hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their ſeductions, which occaſioned their loyal Injuries, than I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjuſt Suſpicions, and reward them for their good Intentions.

I am too conſcious to My own Affections toward the generality of my People, to ſuſpect theirs to Me; nor ſhall the Malice of my Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort which that confidence gives Me. I ſhall never gratifie the ſpightfulneſs of a few, with any ſiniſter thoughts of all their Allegiance whom Pious frauds have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens Ambition can do ſhall never perſwade Me to make ſo bad interpreta-

terpretations of moſt of my Subjects actions; who poſſibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyalty.

The ſenſe of the Injuries done to my Subjects is as ſharp as thoſe done to My ſelf; our welfares being inſeparable: in this only they ſuffer more than My ſelf, that they are animated by ſome Seducers to injure at once both themſelves and Me.

For this is not enough to the Malice of my Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it muſt be done by ſuch inſtruments, that my Afflictions grieve Me not more than this doth, that I am afflicted by thoſe whoſe Proſperity I earneſtly deſire, and whoſe Seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been my open and foreign Enemies, I could have born it; but they muſt be my own Subjects, who are, next to my Children, dear to Me: and for the reſtoring of whoſe Tranquillity I could willingly be the *Jonah*; if I did not evidently foreſee, that by the divided Intereſts of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds, the ſtorm of their Miſeries would be rather encreaſed than allayed.

I had rather prevent my Peoples Ruine than rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion which is but my Right, as of their Happineſs, if it could expiate or countervail ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt Injuries of Subjects committed againſt their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die many deaths, than ſhamefully to deſert or diſhonorably to betray my own juſt Rights and Soveraignty, thereby to gratify the Ambition, or juſtifie the Malice of my Enemies; between whoſe Malice and other mens Miſtakes I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague, or the Itch of Novelty and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty.

As Liars need have good memories, ſo Malicious perſons need good inventions, that their Calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their Reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and ſhew.

My Patience (I thank God) will better ſerve Me to bear, and my Charity to forgive, than my Leiſure to anſwer the many falſe aſperſions which ſome men have caſt upon Me.

Did I not more conſider my Subjects Satisfaction than My own Vindication, I ſhould never have given the Malice of ſome men that pleaſure, as to ſee Me take notice of or remember what they ſay or object.

I would leave the Authors to be puniſhed by their own evil Manners and ſeared Conſciences, which will, I believe, in a ſhorter time than they be aware of, both confute and revenge all thoſe black and falſe Scandals which they have caſt on Me; and make the world ſee, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or

Civility

Civility (I need not ſay Loyalty) in the not-ſuppreſſing of them: whoſe credit and reputation, even with the People, ſhall ere long be quite blaſted by the breath of that ſame fornace of Popular obloquy and detraction, which they have ſtudied to heat and inflame to the higheſt degree of Infamy, and wherein they have ſought to caſt and conſume my Name and Honor.

Firſt, nothing gave Me more cauſe to ſuſpect and ſearch My own Innocency, than when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt Me who had made great profeſſions of ſingular Piety: For this gave to vulgar minds ſo bad a reflection upon Me and My Cauſe, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to Me, and not withal depart from God; to think or ſpeak well of Me, and not to blaſpheme him; ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyal to Me and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize and that vulgar proportion wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of my Sufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Me than forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange, that ſo religious Pretenſions as were uſed againſt Me ſhould be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe Me; eſpecially being urged by ſuch

popular Preachers as think it no ſin to lye for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſs of the End propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſs of the Means uſed, nor the depth of the Miſchief chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſs of theſe mens Judgements muſt be made up by their Clamors and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize Me and Mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cryed not down Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more tryal of his Grace as to the conſtancy of my Religion in the Proteſtant profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any Exception I am ſo lyable to in their opinion, as too great a Fixedneſs in that Religion; whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture and Antiquity, will not give my Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon Me and my People.

Contrary to thoſe well-tryed foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of far greater Learning and clearer Zeal have ſet-

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led in the Confeſſion and Conſtitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments, in the moſt calm and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; in which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as believing it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts which were my Subjects any way fight againſt my Religion, as ſome men would needs interpret it; eſpecially thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they ſaid and did, ſo they might prevail.

'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men as they would be eſteemed ſhould not conceive, that differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fall out, where there is the ſameneſs of Duty, Allegiance and Subjection. The firſt they owe as Men and Chriſtians, to God; the ſecond they owe to Me in common, as their *KING*. Different profeſſions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civil Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents or to Princes: And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as thoſe men entertain in their ſervice (who find moſt fault with Me) without any ſcruple, as to the diverſity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foul and indeleble ſhame for ſuch as would be counted Proteſtants, to enforce Me, a declared Proteſtant, their Lord and

and King, to a neceſſary uſe of Papiſts or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My ſelf.

Nor did I more than is lawful for any King in ſuch exigents, to uſe the aid of any his Subjects.

I am ſorry the Papiſts ſhould have a greater ſenſe of their Allegiance than many Proteſtant Profeſſors, who ſeem to have learned and to practiſe the worſt Principles of the worſt Papiſts.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unſeaſonable ſcruple in Me (and very pleaſing no doubt to my Enemies) to have been then diſputing the points of different Beliefs in my Subjects, when I was diſputed with by Swords points; and when I needed the help of my Subjects as Men, no leſs than their Prayers as Chriſtians.

The noiſe of my Evil Counſellors was another uſeful device for thoſe who were impatient any mens counſels but their own ſhould be followed in Church or State; who were ſo eager in giving Me better counſel, that they would not give Me leave to take it with Freedom, as a Man, or Honor, as a King; making their counſels more like a Drench, that muſt be poured down, than a Draught, which might be fairly and leiſurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not juſtifie beyond humane errors and frailties My ſelf or my Counſellors; They

They might be ſubject to ſome Miſcarriages, yet ſuch as were far more reparable by ſecond and better thoughts, than thoſe enormous Extravagances wherewith ſome men have now even wildred and almoſt quite loſt both Church and State.

The event of things at laſt will make it evident to my Subjects, that had I followed the worſt counſels that my worſt Counſellors ever had the boldneſs to offer to Me, or My ſelf any inclination to uſe, I could not ſo ſoon have brought both Church and State in Three flouriſhing Kingdoms to ſuch a *Chaos* of Confuſions and Hell of Miſeries as ſome have done; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midſt of their many great advantages, redeem either Me or my Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redreſs what I ſaw in Reaſon was either done or adviſed amiſs: and this I thought I had done even beyond the expectation of moderate men, who were ſorry to ſee Me prone even to injure My ſelf out of a Zeal to relieve my Subjects.

But other mens inſatiable deſire of Revenge upon Me, my Court and my Clergy, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State of the benefit of all my either Retractations or Conceſſions; and withall, hath deprived all thoſe (now ſo zealous Perſecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended Perſecutions, wherein they

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ſo much gloried among the Vulgar; and which indeed a truly-humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not to be relieved than be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian Patience which attends humble and injured Sufferers.

Another artifice uſed to withdraw my Peoples Affections from Me to their deſigns was, The noiſe and oſtentation of Liberty, which men are not more prone to deſire, than unapt to bear in the Popular ſenſe; which is to do what every man liketh beſt.

If the divineſt Liberty be to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Laws and Religion, I envy not my Subjects that Liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy My ſelf; ſo far am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted Me ſo prodigal of their Liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enſlaving of Themſelves and their Poſterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous Deſigns over the Ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers and People, will ever deſire greater Freedoms than the Laws allow; whoſe bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection, others their Manacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the Reward

Reward and Benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth its Rule and Direction; loſing juſtly his Safety, while he ſeeks an unreaſonable Liberty.

Time will beſt inform my Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true Liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſneſs againſt or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-Subjects Liberties, who have the hardineſs to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints, againſt all Laws, both Divine and Humane; under which yet I will rather periſh, than complain to thoſe who want nothing to compleat their mirth and Triumph but ſuch Muſick.

In point of true Conſcientious Tenderneſs (attended with Humility and Meekneſs, not with proud and arrogant activity, which ſeeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſm) I have oft declared, how little I deſire my Laws and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the only King of mens Conſciences; and yet He hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake, giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further than with Meekneſs and Patience they are content to ſuffer the Penalties annexed, rather than perturb the publick Peace.

The

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition in Peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods Providence as well as their own Merits) were the ſecret (but principal) impulſives to theſe Popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentiful Eſtates they got and enjoyed under My Government in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious Reproaches which impotent Malice can invent, and My ſelf expoſed to all thoſe Contempts which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and encreaſe the ungrateful Inſolences of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well aſſured that as mine Innocency is clear before God in point of any Calumnies they object; ſo my Reputation ſhall, like the Sun, (after Owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch a degree of ſplendor as thoſe feral Birds ſhall be grieved to behold and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious than thoſe whom God hath ſuffer'd to be tried in the furnace of Afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the juſt and merciful God will do Me good for ſome mens hard, falſe and evil ſpeeches againſt Me? wherein they ſpeak rather what they wiſh, than what they believe or know. Nor

Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of Honour by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets (which, like fire in great Conflagrations, flie up and down to ſet all places on like flames) as thoſe men do, who pretending to ſo much Piety, are ſo forgetful of their duty to God and Me: by no way ever vindicating the Majeſty of their KING againſt any of thoſe who, contrary to the precept of God and precedent of Angels, *ſpeak evil of dignities, and bring railing accuſations againſt* thoſe who are honoured with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing GOD, ſhould not Honour their KING.

They will eaſily contemn ſuch ſhadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme and adorable Majeſty, in compariſon of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obſcurity; yet hath he graven ſuch Characters of Divine Authority and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without ſin ſeek to blot them out. Nor ſhall their black veils be able to hide the ſhining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are all the irradiations of true Glory and Majeſty.

THOU, O Lord, knoweſt my reproach and my diſhonour, my Adverſaries are all before Thee.

My

My Soul is among Lions, among them that are ſet on fire, even the ſons of men; whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows, their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine Enemies reproach Me all the day long, and thoſe that are mad againſt Me are ſworn together.

O my God, how long ſhall the ſons of men turn my glory into ſhame? how long ſhall they love vanity, and ſeek after lies?

Thou haſt heard the reproaches of wicked men on every ſide. Hold not thy peace, leſt my Enemies prevail againſt Me, and lay mine honour in the duſt.

Thou, O Lord, ſhalt deſtroy them that ſpeak lies; the Lord will abhor both the Bloud-thirſty and Deceitful men.

Make my Righteouſneſs to appear as the light, and mine Innocency to ſhine forth as the Sun at noon-day.

Suffer not my ſilence to betray mine Innocency, nor my diſpleaſure my Patience: That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being curſed by them, I may bleſs them.

Thou that wouldſt not ſuffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpuniſhed, when by thy Judgments on* David *he might ſeem to juſtifie his diſdainful reproaches; give Me grace to intercede with thy Mercy for theſe my Enemies, that the reward of falſe and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire, may not be brought upon them.*

Let

Let my Prayers and Patience be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already ſet on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with thoſe malicious flames.

Let Me be happy to refute and put to ſilence their evil-ſpeaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my Prayer for their Repentance and thy Pardon.

Teach Me David's *Patience and* Hezekiah's *Devotion; that I may look to thy Mercy through mans Malice, and ſee thy Juſtice in their Sin.*

Let Sheba's *Seditious ſpeeches,* Rabſhekah's *Railing, and* Shimei's *Curſing, provoke, as my humble Prayer to Thee, ſo thy renewed Bleſſing toward Me.*

Though they curſe, do Thou bleſs; and I ſhall be bleſſed, and made a Bleſſing to my People:

That the ſtone which ſome builders refuſe, may become the head-ſtone of the corner.

Look down from Heaven, and ſave Me from the reproach of them that would ſwallow Me up.

Hide Me in the ſecret of thy preſence from the pride of man, and keep Me from the ſtrife of tongues.

XVI.

Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common-Prayer-Book.

IT is no news to have all Innovations uſhered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by thoſe, who ſeeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary Parts and Piety, muſt needs undoe whatever was formerly ſetled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the Pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties allow former times any ſhare or degree of Wiſdom or Godlineſs.

And becauſe matter of Prayer and Devotion to God juſtly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converſe with the Divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the People than to tell them they ſerved God amiſs in that point.

Hence our publick *Liturgie*, or Forms of conſtant Prayers, muſt be (not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhiered and aboliſhed: and after many Popular contempts offered to the Book and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences and the Laws in force, it muſt be crucified by an Ordinance, the better

better to pleaſe either thoſe men who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluency; or others, who conſcious to their own formality in the uſe of it, thought they fully expiated their ſin of not uſing it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejecting of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuſe the deadneſs of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, ſober and Learned men have ſufficiently vindicated it againſt the Cavils and exceptions of thoſe, who thought it a part of Piety to make what profane objections they could againſt it, eſpecially for Popery and Superſtition: whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confeſſed to be moſt ſound and Orthodox.

For the manner of uſing Set and Preſcribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholeſome words being known and fitted to mens Underſtandings are ſooneſt received into their Hearts, and apteſt to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent Affections.

Nor do I ſee any reaſon why Chriſtians ſhould be weary of a well-compoſed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the conſtancy abates nothing of the Excellency and Uſefulneſs.

I could never ſee any Reaſon why any Chriſtian ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Forms of Prayer; ſince he prays to the ſame God, believes in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, reads the ſame criptures, hath the ſame Duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well beforehand know what we pray as to whom we pray, and in what words as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? our appetite and digeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men I hear are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their Devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not onely diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original Pattern of all ſet Liturgies in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expreſſions in Publick Prayer, or any ſacred adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſin than that which they call Coldneſs and Barrenneſs: Nor are men in thoſe Novelties leſs ſubject to formal and ſuperficial tempers (as to their hearts) than in the uſe of conſtant Forms, where

where not the words, but mens hearts are to blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very Formal in the moſt extemporary variety, and very fervently Devout in the moſt wonted expreſſions: nor is God more a God of variety than of conſtancy: nor are conſtant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat and hinder the Spirit of prayer and Devotion, than unpremeditated and confuſed variety to diſtract and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet and humble uſe of Miniſters gifts even in publick, the better to fit and excite their own and the Peoples affections to the preſent occaſions; yet I know no neceſſity why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many Learned and Godly men, ſuch as the Compoſers of the Service-Book were, who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of Gifts and Graces enabling them to compoſe, with ſerious deliberation and concurrent advice, ſuch Forms of Prayers as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers underſtanding, and ſtir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their ſpirits (wherein conſiſts the very life and ſoul of Prayer, and that ſo much pretended Spirit of Prayer) than any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have:

which what they are many times, (even there where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſs, impertinency, rudeneſs, confuſions, flatneſs, levity, obſcurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſleſs and oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions, all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous and (indeed) profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramental adminiſtrations and the like, which are ſtill the ſame, Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own Forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound or comprehenſive of the nature of the Duty as Forms of Publick compoſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new expreſſions when the Subject is the ſame: which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies, not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſs, order and gravity becoming thoſe Duties, which by this means are expoſed at every celebration to every Miniſters private Infirmities, Indiſpoſitions, Errors, Diſorders and

De-

Defects, both for Judgment and Expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſe of which inconveniences in the Church unavoidably following every mans ſeveral manner of officiating, no doubt, firſt occaſioned the Wiſdom and Piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy thoſe miſchiefs by the uſe of conſtant Liturgies of Publick compoſure.

The want of which, I believe, this Church will ſufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens ungoverned Ignorance and confident defects ſhall be diſcovered in more Errors, Schiſms, Diſorders and uncharitable Diſtractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

However, if Violence muſt needs bring in and abet thoſe Innovations (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon and Religion forbids at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the Publick Liturgy:

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partial ſeverity of thoſe men, who either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed and maintained the Service-book; or refuſing to uſe it, cried out of the rigour of the Laws and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the liberty of their Conſciences in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Liturgy into a Directory; as

if the Spirit needed help for Invention, though not for Expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in and confined to fit words: (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerve to delude the Vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity, as not to ſuffer without penalty any to uſe the Common-Prayer-Book publickly, although their Conſciences bind them to it, as a duty of Piety to God and Obedience to the Laws.

Thus I ſee no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal Novelties, than ſuch whoſe Pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawful conſtitutions, and whoſe licentious humors moſt pretended conſcientious liberties: which freedom with much regret they now allow to Me and my Chaplains, when they may have leave to ſerve Me, whoſe Abilities even in their extemporary way comes not ſhort of the others, but their Modeſty and Learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned and ſober Debates; leſt being convinced by the evidence of Reaſon as well as Laws, they ſhould have been driven either to ſin more againſt their Knowledge, by taking away the Liturgy;

Liturgy; or to diſpleaſe ſome Faction ofthe People, by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I believe they have offended more conſiderable men, not only for their numbers and eſtates, but for their weighty and judicious Piety, than thoſe are whoſe Weakneſs or Giddineſs they ſought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe, was this, that it taught them to pray ſo oft for Me: to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to ſay *Amen*; nor yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Curſings of Me in their own Forms, in ſtead of praying for Me.

I wiſh their Repentance may be their only Puniſhment; that ſeeing the miſchiefs which the diſuſe of Publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of ſound and wholeſome words.

AND Thou, O Lord, which art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever, whoſe Mercies are full of variety, and yet of conſtancy; Thou denieſt us not a new and freſh ſenſe of our old and daily wants, nor deſpiſeſt renewed affections joyned to conſtant expreſſions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and well-adviſed Devotions.

Let

Let the matters of our Prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is always the ſame; and the fervency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy Holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not but thy Spiritual perfections are ſuch, as Thou *art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the Pious conſtancy of our Petitions in them both.*

Whoſe Variety or conſtancy Thou *haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the Piety and Prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.*

Keep men in that pious moderation of their Judgments in matters of Religion, that their Ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own Abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe to help their infirmities.

And ſince the advantage of Error conſiſts in Novelty and Variety, as Truth's in Unity and Conſtancy; ſuffer not thy Church to be peſtered with Errors, and deformed with Undecencies in thy Service, under the pretence of Variety and Novelty: nor to be deprived of Truth, Unity and Order, under this fallacy, That Conſtancy is the cauſe of Formality.

Lord, keep us from formal Hypocriſie in our own hearts; and then we know that praying to Thee, or praiſing of Thee (with David *and other Holy men) in the ſame Forms cannot hurt us.*

Give us Wiſdom to amend what is amiſs within us,

us, and there will be leſs to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind Zeal and over-bold Devotion.

XVII.

Of the Differences between the King *and the Two Houſes, in point of* Church-Government.

TOuching the Government of the Church by Biſhops, the common Jealouſie hath been, that I am earneſt and reſolute to maintain it, not ſo much out of Piety, as Policy and reaſon of State.

Wherein ſo far indeed reaſon of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impoſſible for a Prince to preſerve the State in quiet, unleſs he hath ſuch an influence upon Church-men, and they ſuch a dependance on Him, as may beſt reſtrain the ſeditious exorbitancies of Miniſters tongues; who with the Keys of Heaven have ſo far the Keys of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory to let in or ſhut out both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as KING) intruſted by God and the Laws with the good both of Church and State; I ſee no reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reaſon I ought to have over both.

The removing Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers

Peers (of which I have elſewhere given an account) was ſufficient to take off any ſuſpicion, that I encline to them for any uſe to be made of their Votes in State-affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Biſhop worthy to ſit in that Houſe, who would not Vote according to his Conſcience.

I muſt now in Charity be thought deſirous to preſerve that Government in its right conſtitution, as a matter of Religion, wherein both my Judgment is fully ſatisfied that it hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture grounds, and alſo the conſtant Practice of all Chriſtian Churches; till of late years the Tumultuarineſs of People, or the Factiouſneſs and Pride of Presbyters, or the Covetouſneſs of ſome States and Princes, gave occaſion to ſome mens wits to invent new models, and propoſe them under the ſpecious titles of *Chriſts Government, Scepter and Kingdom*, the better to ſerve their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They muſt give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Biſhops, (that I may have a title to their Eſtates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new ways; contrary to the full and conſtant teſtimony of all Hiſtories, ſufficiently convincing unbiaſſed men, that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apoſtles, and their immediate Succeſſors, the firſt and beſt Biſhops,

Biſhops, ſo it cannot in Reaſon or Charity be ſuppoſed that all Churches in the world ſhould either be ignorant of the Rule by them preſcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their Divine and Holy Pattern: That ſince the firſt Age, for fifteen hundred years, not one Example can be produced of any ſetled Church, wherein were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them, under whoſe Juriſdiction and Government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſal practice agreeing with ſo large and evident Scripture-Directions and Examples, as are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſetling of that Government, not in the Perſons only of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the Succeſſion; (the want of Government being that which the Church can no more diſpenſe with in point of well-being, than the want of the Word and Sacraments in point of being:)

I wonder how men came to look with ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops power and authority, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſtical uſe of them and Apoſtolical conſtitution: which to Me ſeems no leſs evidently ſet forth, as to the main ſcope and deſign of thoſe Epiſtles, for the ſetling of a peculiar Office, Power and Authority in them, as Preſident-Biſhops above others, in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other acts of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; than thoſe ſhorter characters of the qualities

qualities and duties of Presbyter-Biſhops and Deacons are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now, not improperly be call'd *Biſhops*, as to the overſight and care of ſingle Congregations committed to them by the Apoſtles, or thoſe Apoſtolical Biſhops who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in that ordinary power, there aſſigned over larger diviſions, in which were many Presbyters.

The Humility of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles, as a name in the Churches ſtile appropriated from its common notion (of *a Meſſenger*, or *one ſent*) to that ſpecial Dignity which had extraordinary Call, Miſſion, Gifts, and Power immediately from Chriſt; they contented themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Presbyters: until uſe (the great arbitrator of words and maſter of language) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name, thoſe Perſons whoſe Power and Office were indeed diſtinct from and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, (the honour of whoſe name they moderately, yet commendably, declined) all Chriſtian Churches (ſubmitting to that ſpecial authority) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpicion or reproach of arrogancy, to thoſe

thoſe who were by Apoſtolical propagation rightly deſcended and inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt, had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whoſe ſpecial power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chief grounds and limits of all Epiſcopal claim as from Divine Right) than are the characters of theſe perilous times, and thoſe men that make them ſuch, who not enduring ſound Doctrine, and clear teſtimonies of all Churches practice, are moſt perverſe Diſputers, and proud Uſurpers againſt true Epiſcopacy: who, if they be not Traitors and Boaſters, yet they ſeem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themſelves, having much of the Form, little of the power of Godlineſs.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light and unlearned Teachers, ſeek to over-lay and ſmother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Epiſcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth both by Scripture and all after-Hiſtories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine than a Prince, that Poſterity may ſee (if ever theſe Papers be publick) that I had fair grounds, both from Scripture-Canons and Eccleſiaſti-

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cal Examples, whereon my Judgment was ſtated for Epiſcopal Government.

Nor was it any Policy of State, or obſtinacy of Will, or partiality of Affection, either to the men or their Function, which fixed Me; who cannot in point of worldly reſpects be ſo conſiderable to Me, as to recompence the injuries and loſſes I and My deareſt Relations, with my Kingdoms, have ſuſtained and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrel.

And not only in Religion, of which Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Univerſal Practice the beſt commentary; but alſo in right Reaſon and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters or Miniſters ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, than it is in all ſecular and Civil Governments, where Parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believe that ſuch Order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, than good Features are with Beauty, or Numbers with Harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeveral orders and a Prelacy in the Government of his Church among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters, who have as much of the Principles of Schiſm and Diviſion as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of

of which, the Apoſtolical Wiſdom (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Preſbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve Order and Union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the Favour of Princes or Ambition of Presbyters, but the Wiſdom and Piety of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſetled Biſhops in the Church; which Authority they conſtantly uſed, and enjoyed in thoſe times which were pureſt for Re lii-on, though ſharpeſt for Perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the managing of this Preſidency and Authority in one man by the joynt counſel and conſent of many Presbyters: I have offered to reſtore that, as a fit means to avoid thoſe Errors, Corruptions and Partialities which are incident to any one man; alſo to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Chriſtians, leaſt of all Churchmen; beſides, it will be a means to take away that burthen and *odium* of affairs which may lie too heavy on one mans ſhoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Biſhops here.

Nor can I ſee what can be more agreeable both to Reaſon and Religion, than ſuch a frame of Government which is Paternal, not Magiſterial: and wherein not only the neceſſity of avoiding Faction and Confuſion, Emulations and Contempts, which are

prone to ariſe among equals in Power and Function; but alſo the differences of ſome Miniſters gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to thoſe Abilities wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this Judgment of Mine touching Epiſcopacy any preoccupation of Opinion, which will not admit any oppoſitions againſt it: It is well known I have endeavoured to ſatisfie My ſelf in what the chief Patrons for other ways can ſay againſt this, or for theirs: And I find, as they have far leſs of Scripture grounds and of Reaſon; ſo for Examples, and Practice of the Church, or teſtimonies of Hiſtories, they are wholly deſtitute, wherein the whole ſtream runs ſo for Epiſcopacy, that there is not the leaſt rivulet for any others.

As for thoſe obtruded Examples of ſome late Reformed Churches, (for many retain Biſhops ſtill) whom neceſſity of times and affairs rather excuſeth than commendeth for their Inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never ſee any reaſon why Churches orderly reformed, and governed by Biſhops, ſhould be forced to conform to thoſe few, rather than to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches which needed no Reformation, and to thoſe Churches at this day, who, governed by Biſhops in all the Chriſtian world, are many more than Presbyterians

or Independents can pretend to be: All whom the Churches in my Three Kingdoms lately governed by Biſhops would equalize, (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of Wiſdom or Charity, where Chriſtians differ, (as many do in ſome points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Chriſtian world (except a handful of ſome Proteſtants) ſo great a ſcandal in point of Church-government; whom though you may convince of their Errors in ſome points of Doctrine, yet you ſhall never perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert and wholly caſt off that Government which they and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive and Apoſtolical, ſo far, that never Schiſmaticks nor Hereticks (except thoſe *Aerians*) have ſtrayed from the Unity and Conformity of the Church in that point, ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late general Approbation and Submiſſion to this Government of Biſhops by the Clergy as well as the Laity of theſe Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their Inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their Novelty. I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their Learning or Integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrary to their Conſciences: So that their

facility and Levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartial debate, contrary to their former Oaths and Practice, againſt their obedience to the Laws in force, and againſt My Conſent, have not only quite cried down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegal ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the ſelling away and utter alienation of thoſe Church-lands from any Eccleſiaſtical uſes. So great a power hath the ſtream of Times and the prevalency of Parties over ſome mens Judgments; of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo total change little reaſon can be given, beſides the *Scots* Army coming into *England*.

But the Folly of theſe men will at laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the Deſertors of Epiſcopacy will appear the greateſt Enemies to and Betrayers of their own Intereſt: for Presbytery is never ſo conſiderable or effectual as when it is joyned to and crowned with Epiſcopacy. All Miniſters will find as great a difference in point of thriving between the favour of the People and of Princes, as Plants do between being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will ſoon let them ſee, what a poor Carcaſs they are when parted from the influence of that

that Head to whoſe Supremacy they have been ſworn.

A little Moderation might have prevented great miſchiefs. I am firm to Primitive Epiſcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Diſcretion without Paſſion might eaſily reform whatever the ruſt of Times or indulgence of Laws or corruption of Manners have brought upon it. It being a groſs vulgar Error, to impute to or revenge upon the Function the faults of Times or Perſons; which Seditious and Popular Principle and Practice all wiſe men abhor.

For thoſe Secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civil Honor and Eſtate, which my Predeceſſors and Chriſtian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Biſhops and Church-men, I look upon them but as juſt Rewards of their Learning and Piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; alſo enablements to works of Charity and Hoſpitality, meet ſtrengthenings of their Authority in point of Reſpect and Obſervance, which in peaceful times is hardly payed to any Governors by the meaſure of their Vertues ſo much as by that of their Eſtates; Poverty and meanneſs expoſing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, which perſecuting Times much reſtrained.

I would have ſuch men Biſhops as are moſt worthy of thoſe incouragements, and

beſt able to uſe them. If at any time my Judgment of men failed, my good Intention made my error venial: And ſome Biſhops I am ſure I had, whoſe Learning, Gravity and Piety no men of any worth or forehead can deny. But of all men, I would have Churchmen, eſpecially the Governors, to be redeemed from that vulgar Neglect, which (beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove or reſtrain them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian Parity, which makes all Miniſters equal, and the Independent Inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for my Judgement touching Epiſcopacy; wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any deſign or Paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above and all the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by Violence and infinite Indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeek to force Me their KING and Soveraign, as ſome men have endeavoured to do, againſt all theſe grounds of my Judgment, to conſent to their weak and divided Novelties.

The greateſt Pretender of them deſires not more than I do, that the Church ſhould be governed as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon and in Scripture; of which I could never

never ſee any probable ſhew for any other ways: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy and ſolitude, when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters they ordained as well as over the Churches they planted; and That Government being neceſſary for the Churches well-being, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and ſuperiority they had above others; which could not end with their Perſons, ſince the uſe and Ends of ſuch Government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt Primitive and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy; and may ſo ſtill, if Ignorance, Superſtition, Avarice, Revenge, and other diſorderly and diſloyal Paſſions had not ſo blown up ſome mens minds againſt it, that what they want of Reaſons or Primitive Patterns, they ſupply with Violence and Oppreſſion; wherein ſome mens zeal for Biſhops Lands, Houſes and Revenues, hath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteem) to Me is no leſs ſin than Sacrilege, or a Robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given again to him, in giving

it to his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelf.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to my Judgment, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that Government and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the Unlawfulneſs of the Function, as Antichriſtian, (which ſome men boldly, but weakly, calumniate) I could ſoon with Judgment break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by Me.

But being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of Truth more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that to which I am ſworn, how can any man that wiſheth not my Damnation, perſwade Me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins of Sacrilege and Perjury? beſides the many perſonal Injuſtices I muſt do to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates as any who ſeek to deprive them; and they have by no Law been convicted of thoſe Crimes which might forfeit their Eſtates and Livelihoods.

I have oft wondred, how men pretending to Tenderneſs of Conſcience and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that my Coronation-Oath binds Me to conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Me (which they urge with ſuch Violence) though contrary

to

to all that Rational and Religious Freedom which every man ought to preſerve, and of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me, that I muſt and ought to diſpenſe with, and roundly break that part of my Oath which bindes Me (agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange my Oath ſhould be valid in that part, which both My ſelf and all men in their own caſe eſteem injurious and unreaſonable, as being againſt the very natural and eſſential liberty of our Souls; yet it ſhould be invalid and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think My ſelf juſtly obliged both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious Covetouſneſs and Sacrilegious Cruelty, torturing (with Me) both Church and State in Civil diſſentions, till I ſhall be forced to conſent, and declare that I do approve what (God knows) I utterly diſlike and in my Soul abhor, as many ways highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion; and whereto if I ſhould ſhamefully and diſhonourably give my Conſent, yet ſhould I not by ſo doing ſatisfie the divided Intereſts and Opinions of thoſe Parties which contend with each other, as well as both againſt Me and Epiſcopacy.

Nor

Nor can my late condeſcending to the *Scots* in point of Church-Government be rightly objected againſt Me, as an inducement for Me to conſent to the like in my other Kingdoms: for it ſhould be conſidered, that Epiſcopacy was not ſo rooted and ſetled there as 'tis here; nor I (in that reſpect) ſo ſtrictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this: for what I think in my Judgment beſt, I may not think ſo abſolutely neceſſary for all places and at all times.

If any ſhall impute my yielding to them as my Failing and Sin, I can eaſily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do ſo again, or much worſe, I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath my yielding to them been ſo happy and ſucceſsful as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I ſee any thing more of Chriſt, as to Meekneſs, Juſtice, Order, Charity and Loyalty, in thoſe that pretend to other modes of Government, I might ſuſpect my Judgment to be biaſſed or fore-ſtalled with ſome Prejudice and wontedneſs of Opinion: but I have hitherto ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect the contrary in the Manners of many of thoſe men, that I cannot from them gain the leaſt reputation for their new ways of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whoſe patterns are ſo cried up and

and obtruded upon the Churches under my Dominion) either Learning or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have ſo flouriſhed beyond what they have done in My Kingdoms, (by Gods bleſſing) which might make me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Epiſcopacy in its right conſtitution.

The Abuſes of which deſerve to be extirpated as much as the Uſe retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and Uniform Antiquity, than to comply with divided Novelty.

A right Epiſcopacy would at once ſatisfie all juſt deſires and intereſts of good Biſhops, humble Presbyters, and ſober People; ſo as Church affairs ſhould be managed neither with Tyranny, Parity, nor Popularity; neither Biſhops ejected, nor Presbyters deſpiſed, nor People oppreſſed.

And in this Integrity both of my Judgment and Conſcience I hope God will preſerve Me.

FOR Thou, O Lord, knoweſt my Uprightneſs and Tenderneſs. As Thou haſt ſet Me to be a Defender of the Faith, *and a Protector of thy Church; ſo ſuffer Me not by any violence to be over-born againſt my Conſcience.*

Ariſe, O Lord, maintain thine own Cauſe; let not thy Church be deformed as to that Government

vernment which, derived from thy Apoſtles, hath been retained in pureſt and Primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſecular Envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make Me, as the good Samaritan, *compaſſionate and helpful to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed, others paſs by without regard either to pity or relieve.*

As my Power is from Thee, ſo give Me grace to uſe it for Thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a KING; *yet preſerve Me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.*

Preſerve from Sacrilegious invaſions thoſe temporal Bleſſings which thy Providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their Sins and Errors who have deſerved thy juſt permiſſion thus to let in the wild Boar and ſubtile Foxes, to waſte and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let Me not bear the infamous brand to all poſterity, of being the firſt Chriſtian KING *in this Kingdom who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſion of thy Church and the Fathers of it; whoſe Errors I would rather, with* Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence and reform with meekneſs,*

than

than expose their Persons and Sacred Functions to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with and for thy Church; make no long tarrying, O my God, to deliver both Me and It from unreasonable men, whose counsels have brought forth and continue such violent Confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches Peace, thereby letting in all manner of Errors, Schisms and Disorders.

O thou God of Order and of Truth, in thy good time abate the Malice, assuage the Rage, and confound all the mischievous Devices of Thine, Mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to Thee, and ever magnifie thy Salvation, even before the Sons of men.

XVIII.

Upon Uxbridge *Treaty, and other Offers made by the* KING.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men, whose strength should be more in their Understandings than in their Limbs.

And though I could seldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence

confidence of my Reaſon, than my Sword: I was ſo wholly reſolved to yield to the firſt, that I thought neither My ſelf nor others ſhould need to uſe the ſecond, if once we rightly underſtood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a Diminution of Me, to prevent them with expreſſes of my Deſires, and even Importunities to Treat: It being an office not only of Humanity, rather to uſe Reaſon than Force; but alſo of Chriſtianity, to *ſeek peace and enſue it.*

As I was very unwillingly compelled to defend My ſelf with Arms, ſo I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civil War uncomfortable; the End hardly recompencing, and late repairing the miſchief of the Means.

Nor did any ſucceſs I had ever enhaunce with Me the price of Peace, as earneſtly deſired by Me as any man, though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man: All that I ſought to reſerve was mine Honor and my Conſcience; the one I could not part with as a *KING*, the other as a Chriſtian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the faireſt hopes of an happy Compoſure; had others applied themſelves to it with the ſame Moderation as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condeſcend as far as Reaſon, Honor and Conſcience would give Me leave:

leave: nor were the remaining Differences ſo eſſential to my Peoples Happineſs, or of ſuch conſequence as in the leaſt kind to have hindred my Subjects either Security or Proſperity; for they better enjoyed both many years before ever thoſe demands were made; ſome of which to deny I think the greateſt Juſtice to My ſelf, and Favor to my Subjects.

I ſee Jealouſies are not ſo eaſily allayed as they are raiſed: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements than to engage; what is wanting in Equity, muſt be made up in Pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in Peace, or to loſe in War, ſtudied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and ſuſpected.

In Church affairs, where I had leaſt liberty of Prudence, having ſo many ſtrict ties of Conſcience upon Me, yet I was willing to condeſcend ſo far to the ſetling of them as might have given fair ſatisfaction to all men whom Faction, Covetouſneſs, or Superſtition had not engaged more than any true Zeal, Charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yield to all that might ſeem to advance true Piety: I only ſought to continue what was neceſſary in point of Order, Maintenance and Authority, to the Churches Government; and what I am perſwaded (as I have elſewhere ſet down my thoughts more fully) is moſt agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raiſed

to

to its full ſtature and perfection, as alſo to the Primitive Apoſtolical Pattern, and the practice of the Univerſal Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reaſon urged or anſwered, only to ſatisfie ſome mens wills and phantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point, but that of extirpating Epiſcopacy, and fighting againſt Me) muſt needs argue ſuch a ſoftneſs and infirmity of Mind in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth than Mans Peace; and rather loſe the Churches Honor, than croſs ſome mens Factious humors.

God knows, and time will diſcover, who were moſt to blame for the unſucceſsfulneſs of that Treaty, and who muſt bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe, I am very excuſable both before God and all unpaſſionate men, who have ſeriouſly weighed thoſe Tranſactions, wherein I endeavored no leſs the reſtauration of Peace to my People, than the preſervation of my own Crowns to my Poſterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condeſcendings as Arguments of Feebleneſs, and glory moſt in an unflexible ſtiffneſs, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was, always to ask ſomething which in reaſon and Honor muſt

muſt be denied, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate as the worſt effects of War; endeavouring firſt to make Me deſtroy My ſelf by diſhonorable Conceſſions, that ſo they might have the leſs to do.

This was all which that Treaty or any other produced, to let the World ſee how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publick Peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtiveneſs, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or Negations of Mine: I have always the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of Succeſs ſet Me not above a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Fight: though I never thought it any ſign of true Valor to be prodigal of mens lives, rather than to be drawn to produce our own Reaſons, or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the moſt part preſage the unſucceſsfulneſs of any Treaty was, ſome mens unwillingneſs to Treat: which implied ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſs they were loth to have fairly ſcanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers than by Counſellors.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty

of that Treaties breaking, and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword, a better opportunity to uſe ſuch Moderation as was then wanting; that ſo, though Peace were for our ſins juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtain'd: What we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O THOU that art the God of Reaſon and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of Atonement, and beſeeching them to be reconciled with thy ſelf, who wanteſt not Power or Juſtice to deſtroy them, yet aboundeſt in Mercy to ſave; ſoften our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with Thy ſelf, and both to procure and preſerve Peace among our ſelves, as Men and Chriſtians. How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I ſpeak thereof, they make them ready to War?

Condemn us not to our Paſſions, which are deſtructive both of our ſelves and of others.

Clear up our Underſtandings to ſee thy Truth, both in Reaſon, as Men, and in Religion, as Chriſtians: and encline all our hearts to hold the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that Enmity which is now in our hearts againſt Thee: and give us that Charity which ſhould be among our ſelves.

Remove the evils of War we have deſerved; and beſtow upon us that Peace which onely Chriſt our great Peace-maker can merit. Upon

XIX.

Upon the various Events of the War; Victories and Defeats.

THE various Succeſſes of this unhappy War have at leaſt afforded Me variety of good Meditations. Sometimes God was pleaſed to try Me with Victory, by worſting my Enemies, that I might know how with Moderation and thanks to own and uſe his Power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hoſts*, able when he pleaſes to repreſs the Confidence of thoſe that fought againſt Me with ſo great advantages for Power and Number.

From ſmall beginnings on My part he let me ſee, that I was not wholly forſaken by my Peoples Love or his Protection.

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe my Patience, and teach Me not to truſt in the arm of Fleſh, but in the living God.

My Sins ſometimes prevailed againſt the Juſtice of my Cauſe: and thoſe that were with Me wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt Chaſtiſement both of them and Me. Nor were my Enemies leſs puniſhed by that Proſperity, which hardned them to continue that Injuſtice by open Hoſtility, which was begun by moſt riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but perſonal and private Sins may oft-times over-balance the Juſtice of publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant man (in the worlds eſteem) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the way of War a righteous Cauſe. The more men are prone to arrogate to their own Skill, Valour and Strength, the leſs doth God ordinarily work by them for his own Glory.

I am ſure the Event or Succeſs can never ſtate the Juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of mens Conſciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Thoſe with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly for their Juſtification the Word of God and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oaths; all requiring Obedience to my juſt Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or againſt Me, in the point of raiſing Arms.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the ſhifts of ſome pretended Fears, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the preſent Fabrick both of Church and State; being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelf-defence as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being my Subjects, were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Laws, firſt by unſuppreſſed Tumults, after by liſted Forces. The ſame Allegations they uſe, will fit any Faction that hath but power and

Confidence

Confidence enough to ſecond with the Sword all their demands againſt the preſent Laws and Governours; which can never be ſuch as ſome Side or other will not find fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion againſt them.

Some paraſitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe Martyrs who died fighting againſt Me, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion eſtabliſhed: But ſober Chriſtians know, that glorious Title can with truth be applied onely to thoſe who ſincerely preferred God's Truth and their Duty in all theſe particulars before their Lives and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantagious deſigns by any Innovation, were religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the Church, and My ſelf, which lay upon their Souls, both for Obedience and juſt Aſſiſtance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did, through his Mercy, crown many of them with Eternal whoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a Cauſe; the deſtruction of their Bodies being ſanctified as a means to ſave their Souls.

Their Wounds and temporal Ruine ſerving as a gracious opportunity for their eternal Health and Happineſs, while the evident approach of death did, through Gods Grace, effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humi-

lity, Faith and Repentance, which, together with the Rectitude of their preſent Engagement, would fully prepare them for a better Life than that which their Enemies brutiſh and diſloyal Fierceneſs could deprive them of, or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed had the better againſt My ſide in the Field, but never, I believe, at the Bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe many pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict with, and accuſe them in their own thoughts, than they oft were in a deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces which ſometimes God gave Me.

Whoſe condition conquered and dying I make no queſtion but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man (that duly values his Duty, his Soul and Eternity beyond the enjoyments of this preſent Life) than the moſt triumphant glory wherein their and Mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt wherewith their ſuſpicious or now-convicted Conſciences do purſue them; eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen how falſe and un-intended thoſe pretenſions were which they firſt ſet forth as the onely plauſible (though not juſtifiable) grounds of raiſing a War, and continuing

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it thus long againſt Me and the Laws eſtabliſhed, in whoſe ſafety and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Country doth conſiſt.

For and with all which it is far more honourable and comfortable to ſuffer, than to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on My ſide might joyn true Piety with the ſenſe of their Loyalty, and be as faithful to God and their own Souls as they were to Me: That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think that any ſhews or truth of Piety on the other ſide were ſufficient to diſpenſe with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have ſo pregnant convictions on mens Conſciences, that even profaner men are moved by the ſenſe of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any Victory which was without my Sorrow, becauſe it was on mine own Subjects, who, like *Abſolom*, died many of them in their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered any Defeat which made Me deſpair of Gods Mercy and Defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories as might ſerve to conquer, but onely reſtore the Laws and Liberties of my People; which I ſaw were extremely oppreſſed, together with My Rights, by thoſe men who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave Me or denied Me Victory, my desire was neither to boast of my Power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make all things to work together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, than to bring my Enemies to Moderation, and my Friends to Peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute Conquest, and never prayed more for Victory over others than over My self. When the first was denied, the second was granted Me, which God saw best for Me.

The different events were but the methods of Divine Justice, by contrary winds to winnow us: That by punishing our Sins he might purge them from us; and by defering Peace, he might prepare us more to prize and better to use so great a Blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed that I delighted not in War: as my former Concessions sufficiently testified how willingly I would have prevented it; and my total unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of my Innocency forbade Me to fear a War; but the love of my Kingdoms commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing but this, That I gave such advantages to some men by confirming their Power, which they knew not to use with that modesty and gratitude

tude which became their Loyalty and my Confidence.

Had I yielded leſs, I had been oppoſed leſs; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the Occaſions of the War; I wiſh only a happy Concluſion of ſo unhappy Beginnings. The inevitable fate of our Sins was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the Divine Juſtice to be quiet: we having conquered his Patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings to deſtroy one another; for the moſt proſperous Succeſſes on either ſide impair the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable that leave our Sins un-ſubdued, fluſhing our Pride, and animating to continue Injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſirable, till Repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves and leſs againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting one againſt another. I pray God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civil Wars, that I may know better to obey God, and govern my People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject to Me, than all of us may be ſubject to God.

O my God, make Me content to be overcome, when Thou wilt have it ſo.

Teach Me the nobleſt Victory over My ſelf and my Enemies by Patience; which was Chriſt's Conqueſt, and may well become a Chriſtian King.

Between both thy hands, the right ſometimes ſupporting, and the left afflicting, faſhion us to that frame of Piety Thou likeſt beſt.

Forgive the Pride that attends our proſperous, and the Repinings which follow our diſaſtrous events; when going forth in our own ſtrength, Thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.

Be Thou all, when we are ſomething, and when we are nothing; that Thou mayeſt have the Glory, when we are in a victorious or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt how hard it is for Me to ſuffer ſo much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but ſuffer in thoſe Evils which they compel Me to inflict upon them, puniſhing My ſelf in their Puniſhments.

Since therefore both in conquering and being conquered I am ſtill a Sufferer; I beſeech Thee to give Me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that meaſure of Grace which only can be ſufficient for Me.

As I am moſt afflicted, ſo make Me moſt reformed; that I may be not only happy to ſee an

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end of these Civil Distractions, but a chief instrument to restore and establish a firm and blessed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stir up in all parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with Reason, Moderation, and such Self-denial as becomes those who consider, that our mutual Divisions are our common Distractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefest Interest.

If, O Lord, as for the sins of our Peace Thou hast brought upon us the miseries of War, so for the sins of War Thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of Peace, and so keep us in a circulation of Miseries; yet give Me thy Servant, and all Loyal (though afflicted) Subjects, to enjoy that Peace which the world can neither give to us nor take from us.

Impute not to Me the Bloud of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingness and grief hath been shed by Me in my just and necessary Defence; but wash Me with that precious Bloud which hath been shed for Me by my great Peacemaker, Jesus Christ: who will, I trust, redeem Me shortly out of all my Troubles; for I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

XX.

Upon the Reformations of the Times.

NO Glory is more to be envied than that of due Reforming either Church or State, when Deformities are ſuch that the Perturbation and Novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour Me ſo far as to make Me an inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions, to reform what the indulgence of Times and corruption of Manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee, after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Laws eſtabliſhed and the Religion ſetled, which ought to be the firſt Rule and Standard of Reforming: with how much Partiality and popular Compliance the Paſſions and Opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite Scandal of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order and Government in the Church; what Novelties of Schiſms and corrupt Opinions; what Undecencies and Confuſions in Sacred Adminiſtrations; what Sacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what Con-

Contempt and Oppreſſions of the Clergy; what injurious Diminutions and Perſecutings of Me, have followed (as ſhowres do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes, and with My ſelf ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage, I think, is, that Popular clamors and fury have been allowed the reputation of Zeal and the publick ſenſe; ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, Moderation and Impartiality, are ſure the beſt tempers of Reforming Counſels and endeavors: What is acted by Factions cannot but offend more than it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Counſels as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo it's like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines, whom the Two Houſes have applied (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church Affairs, I diſlike not further than that they are not legally convened and choſen, nor act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedom and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

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For I cannot think ſo many men, cried up for Learning and Piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England* as to the main, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to aboliſh both of them, (the laſt of which they knew to be of Apoſtolical inſtitution at leaſt, as of Primitive and Univerſal practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own ſuffrages; and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by ſecret encroachments of hopes and fears prevailed upon them, to comply with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church, without any regard to their own former Judgment and Practice, or to the common Intereſt and Honor of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning and Religion; againſt examples of all Ancient Churches, the Laws in force, and My Conſent, which is never to be gained againſt ſo pregnant light as in that point ſhines on my Underſtanding.

For I conceive that where the Scripture is not ſo clear and punctual in Precepts, there the conſtant and univerſal Practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reaſon, Faith, good Manners, or any poſitive Command, is the beſt Rule that Chriſtians can follow.

I was willing to grant or reſtore to Presbytery what with Reaſon or Diſcretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Epiſcopacy:

cy: but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither juſt as to Epiſcopacy, nor ſafe for Presbytery, nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due Reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſels, and ſuch (I believe) as would have given more content even to the moſt of thoſe Divines who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality to carry on other mens deſigns: which no doubt many of them by this time diſcover, though they dare not but ſmother their fruſtrations and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular titles of Chriſt's Government, Throne, Scepter and Kingdom (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have at leaſt) as alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, may as eaſily be fixed on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-Windows, which time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but Civil, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in mind to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live; the leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties and private abilities in the Publick Service of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may

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ſay *Amen*, nor what adventure he may make of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errors, Blaſphemies and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices; the ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſms and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome four or five years conſultation had matured their thoughts touching their firſt Principles of Religion:

All theſe and the like are the effects of popular, ſpecious, and deceitful Reformations (that they might not ſeem to have nothing to do) and may give ſome ſhort flaſhes of content to the Vulgar (who are taken with Novelties, as Children with Babies, very much, but not very long:) but all this amounts not to, nor can in Juſtice merit the glory of the Churches through Reformation; ſince they leave all things more deformed, diſorderly and diſcontented than when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they eaſily recompence or remedy the Inconveniences and Miſchiefs which they have purchaſed ſo dearly, and which have and ever will neceſſarily enſue, till due Remedies be applied.

I wiſh they would at laſt make it their Unanimous work to do God's work, and not their

their own: Had Religion been firſt conſidered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But ſome men thought that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by ſo many Laws and long Cuſtomes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had firſt melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they reſolved, if they prevailed, to make My ſelf and all my Subjects fall down and worſhip the Images they ſhould form and ſet up. If there had been as much of Chriſts Spirit for Meekneſs, Wiſdom and Charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his Name uſed in the pretenſions to reform all to Chriſts Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods Bleſſing, and produced more of Chriſts Glory, the Churches good, the Honor of Religion, and the Unity of Chriſtians.

Publick Reformers had need firſt act in private, and practiſe that on their own hearts which they purpoſe to try on others; for Deformities within will ſoon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformation to ſuch private Deſigns as muſt needs hinder the publick good.

I am ſure the right methods of Reforming the Church cannot conſiſt with that of perturbing the Civil State, nor can Religion be juſtly advanced by depreſſing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefeſt Ingredients and Orna-

ments of true Religion; for next to *Fear God*, is, *Honor the King*.

I doubt not but Chriſts Kingdom may be ſet up without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartial times appear good Chriſtians, that approve not themſelves good Subjects.

Chriſt's Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it; ſince as I own Mine from Him, ſo I deſire to rule for his Glory and his Churches good.

Had ſome men truly intended Chriſt's Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been ſo ill governed in their words and actions both againſt Me and one another.

As good Ends cannot juſtifie evil Means, ſo nor will evil Beginnings ever bring forth good Concluſions; unleſs God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkneſs, Order out of our Confuſions, and Peace out of our Paſſions.

THOU, O Lord, who onely canſt give us beauty for aſhes and Truth for Hypocriſie, ſuffer us not to be miſerably deluded with Phariſaical waſhings, in ſtead of Chriſtian Reformings.

Our greateſt Deformities are within: make us the ſevereſt Cenſurers and firſt Reformers of our own Souls:

That we may in clearneſs of Judgement and Uprightneſs of heart be a means to reform what is indeed amiſs in Church and State. Cre-

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right ſpirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy Glory, and with thy Bleſſing.

Pity the Deformities which ſome raſh and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State; quench the fires which Factions have kindled under the pretence of Reforming.

As Thou haſt ſhewed the world by their Diviſions and Confuſions what is the pravity of ſome mens Intentions, and weakneſs of their Judgments; ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of theſe fires, by the methods of Chriſtian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of Ambition, Revenge, Covetouſneſs or Sacriledge may have any influence upon their counſels whom thy Providence in juſt and lawful ways ſhall entruſt with ſo great, good, and now moſt neceſſary a work. That I and my People may be ſo bleſt with inward Piety, as may beſt teach us how to uſe the Bleſſing of outward Peace.

XXI.

Upon his Majeſties *Letters taken and divulged.*

THE taking of my Letters was an opportunity, which as the malice of mine Enemies could hardly have expected, ſo they knew not how with honour and civility to uſe it. Nor do I think, with ſober and worthy minds, any thing in them could

tend ſo much to my Reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greateſt experiments of Vertue and Nobleneſs being diſcovered in the greateſt advantages againſt an Enemy; and the greateſt Obligations being thoſe which are put upon us by them from whom we could leaſt have expected them.

And ſuch I ſhould have eſteemed the concealing of my Papers: The freedom and ſecrecy of which commands a Civility from all men not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to expoſe them to publick view.

Yet ſince Providence will have it ſo, I am content ſo much of my Heart (which I ſtudy to approve to Gods Omniſcience) ſhould be diſcovered to the world, without any of thoſe dreſſes or popular captations which ſome men uſe in their Speeches and Expreſſes. I wiſh my Subjects had yet a clearer ſight into my moſt retired Thoughts:

Where they might diſcover how they are divided between the Love and Care I have, not more to preſerve My own Rights, than to procure their Peace and Happineſs; and that extreme Grief to ſee them both deceived and deſtroyed.

Nor can any mens Malice be gratified further by my Letters, than to ſee my Conſtancy to my Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider ſucks Poiſon. That

That I endeavour to avoid the preſſures of my Enemies by all fair and juſt correſpondencies, no man can blame who loves Me or the Common-wealth; ſince my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miſerable, or enjoy their Peace and Liberties while I am oppreſſed.

The world may ſee how ſome mens deſign, like *Abſolom*'s, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exaſperate all Sides to ſuch diſtances, as may make all Reconciliation deſperate.

Yet I thank God I can not only with Patience bear this as other Indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The Integrity of my Intentions is not jealous of any injury my Expreſſions can do them: for although the confidence of Privacy may admit greater freedom in writing ſuch Letters which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of my chief Purpoſes cannot be ſo ſtained or miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more than an happy compoſure of Differences with Juſtice and Honour, not more to My own than my Peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who by thoſe my Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act My own and my Kingdoms Affairs, ſo as becomes a Prince; which mine Enemies have always been very loth

ſhould be believed of Me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others, whom they pleaſe to brand with the name of Evil Counſellors.

It's probable ſome men will now look upon Me as My own Counſellor, and having none elſe to quarrel with, under that notion they will hereafter confine their anger to My ſelf: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of My own Thoughts, or follow the light of My own Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves; not allowing Me to think their Counſels to be other than good for Me, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt Me.

The Victory they obtained that day when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of Popular glory among the Vulgar, with whom Proſperity gains the greateſt eſteem and applauſe, as Adverſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſreſpect: As if good fortune were always the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend Vicious and Injurious actions as to this world.

But I ſee no Secular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that Cauſe which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

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They think no Victories ſo effectual to their deſigns as thoſe that moſt rout and waſte my Credit with my People; in whoſe hearts they ſeek by all means to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, ſo as to recover Mine, the Laws and the Kingdoms Liberties, which ſome men ſeek to overthrow. The taking away of my Credit is but a neceſſary preparation to the taking away of my Life and my Kingdoms: firſt I muſt ſeem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign; by exquiſite methods of Cunning and Cruelty I muſt be compelled firſt to follow the Funerals of my Honour, and then be deſtroyed. But I know God's unerring and impartial Juſtice can and will over-rule the moſt perverſe wills and deſigns of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor do I think that by the ſurprize of my Letters I have loſt any more than ſo many Papers: How much they have loſt of that reputation for Civility and Humanity, (which ought to be paid to all men, and moſt becomes ſuch as pretend to Religion) beſides that of Reſpect and Honour which they owe to their *King*, preſent and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own Conſciences are ſo ſtupid, as not to inflict upon them ſome ſecret impreſſions

of that Shame and Diſhonour which attends all unworthy actions, have they never ſo much of publick flattery and popular countenance.

I am ſure they can never expect the Divine approbation of ſuch indecent actions, if they do but remember how God bleſt the modeſt reſpect and filial tenderneſs which *Noah*'s Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity juſtifie *Cham*'s impudency, or exempt him from that Curſe of being *Servant of Servants*: which Curſe muſt needs be on them who ſeek by diſhonourable actions to pleaſe the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their Malicious intentions be ever either excuſable or proſperous, who thought by this means to expoſe Me to the higheſt Reproach and Contempt of my People; forgetting that duty of Modeſt concealment which they owed to the Father of their Country, in caſe they had diſcovered any real Uncomelineſs, which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believe, hath made Me more reſpected in the hearts of many, (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publiſhing my private Letters, to have rendred me as *a vile Perſon*, not fit to be truſted, or conſidered under any notion of Majeſty.

BUT

BUT Thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing Providence ordereth the greatest contingencies of humane affairs, make Me to see the constancy of thy Mercies to Me in the greatest advantages Thou seemest to give the Malice of my Enemies against Me.

As thou didst blast the counsel of Achitophel, *turning it to* David's *good and his own ruine; so canst Thou defeat their design, who intended by publishing my private Letters nothing else but to render Me more odious and contemptible to my People.*

I must first appeal to thy Omniscience, who canst witness with my Integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous Misconstructions are, which my Enemies endeavour by those Papers of Mine to represent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined and displeasure they intended thereby against Me, so to return on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own Confusion as with a cloak.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give Me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake and thy Churches good.

Fix in Me a purpose to honour Thee, and then I know Thou wilt honour Me, either by restoring to Me the enjoyment of that Power and Majesty which Thou hast suffered some men to seek

to deprive Me of; or by beſtowing on Me that crown of Chriſtian Patience, which knows how to ſerve Thee in honor or diſhonor, in good report or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of Goodneſs and Honor, Thou art clothed with excellent Majeſty; make Me to partake of thy Excellency for Wiſdom, Juſtice and Mercy, and I ſhall not want that degree of Honor and Majeſty which becomes the Place in which Thou haſt ſet Me, who art the lifter up of my head, and my Salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace lead Me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternal.

XXII.

Upon his Majeſties *leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given Me Three Kingdoms, yet in theſe He hath not now left Me any place where I may with Safety and Honor reſt my Head; ſhewing Me that Himſelf is the ſafeſt Refuge, and the ſtrongeſt Tower of Defence, in which I may put my Truſt.

In theſe Extremities I look not to man ſo much as to God: He will have it thus; that I may wholly caſt My ſelf and my now diſtreſſed Affairs upon his Mercy, who hath both the hearts and hands of all men in his diſpoſe.

What

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Neceſſity is now my Counſellor, and commands Me to ſtudy my Safety by a diſguiſed withdrawing from my chiefeſt Strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty who firſt began my Troubles. Haply God may make them a means honorably to compoſe them.

This my Confidence of them may diſarm and overcome them: My rendring my Perſon to them may engage their Affections to Me, who have oft profeſſed, *They fought not againſt Me, but for Me.*

I muſt now reſolve the riddle of their Loyalty, and give them opportunity to let the world ſee they mean not what they do, but what they ſay.

Yet muſt God be my chiefeſt Guard, and my Conſcience both my Counſellor and my Comforter. Though I put my Body into their hands, yet I ſhall reſerve my Soul to God and My ſelf; nor ſhall any Neceſſities compel Me to deſert mine Honor, or ſwerve from my Judgment.

What they ſought to take by Force, ſhall now be given them in ſuch a way of unuſual Confidence of them, as may make them aſhamed not to be really ſuch as they ought, and profeſſed to be.

God ſees it not enough to deprive Me of all Military power to defend My ſelf; but to put Me upon uſing their power, who ſeem

to

to fight againſt Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and ſo neceſſitous may the ſtate of Princes be, that their greateſt Danger may be in their ſuppoſed Safety, and their Safety in their ſuppoſed Danger.

I muſt now leave thoſe that have adhered to Me, and apply to thoſe that have oppoſed Me: this method of Peace may be more proſperous than that of War, both to ſtop the effuſion of bloud, and to cloſe thoſe wounds already made. And in it I am no leſs ſolicitous for my Friends ſafety than Mine own; chuſing to venture My ſelf upon further hazards, rather than expoſe their reſolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is ſome skill in play to know when a game is loſt: better fairly to give over, than to conteſt in vain.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce my Judgment and fortifie my Mind with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeem to offer up my Souls Liberty, or make my Conſcience their Captive, who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Arms, to have perſwaded my Conſent to their new demands.

I thank God, no Succeſs darkens or diſguiſes Truth to Me; and I ſhall no leſs conform my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among Loyal Subjects, *full of power.* Rea-

Reaſon is the Divineſt power: I ſhall never think My ſelf weakned, while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclipſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light: what God hath denied of outward Strength, his Grace, I hope, will ſupply with inward Reſolutions; not moroſely to deny what is fit to be granted, but not to grant any thing which Reaſon and Religion bids me deny.

I ſhall never think My ſelf leſs than My ſelf, while I am able thus to preſerve the Integrity of my Conſcience, the onely Jewel now left Me which is worth keeping.

O Thou Soveraign of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Conſciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward Thee: To the protection of thy Mercy I ſtill commend My ſelf.

As Thou haſt preſerved Me in the day of Battel, ſo Thou canſt ſtill ſhew Me thy ſtrength in my weakneſs.

Be Thou unto Me in my darkeſt night a pillar of Fire, to enlighten and direct Me; in the day of my hotteſt Affliction be alſo a pillar of Cloud, to overſhadow and protect Me; be to Me both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knoweſt that it is not any perverſneſs of Will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honor, Reaſon and Religion, which have made Me thus far to hazard my Perſon, Peace and Safety, againſt thoſe that by Force have ſought to wreſt them from Me.

Suffer

Suffer not my juſt Reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conſcience always accompany Me in my greateſt Solitude and Deſertions.

Suffer Me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that Fortreſs of my Soul which I am intruſted to keep for Thee.

Lead Me in the paths of thy Righteouſneſs, and ſhew Me thy Salvation.

Make my ways to pleaſe Thee, and then Thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with Me.

XXIII.

Upon the Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* Engliſh, *and His Captivity at* Holdenby.

YET may I juſtifie thoſe *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived Me, for I never truſted to them further than to men: If I am ſold by them, I am only ſorry they ſhould do it; and that My price ſhould be ſo much above my Saviours.

Theſe are but further Eſſays which God will have Me make of mans Uncertainty, the more to fix Me on Himſelf, who never faileth them that truſt in him. Though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them; yet the Rock of *Iſrael* will be an everlaſting ſtay and defence.

God's

God's Providence commands Me to retire from all to himſelf, that in him I may enjoy My ſelf, whom I loſe while I let out my hopes to others.

The Solitude and Captivity to which I am now reduced gives Me leiſure enough to ſtudy the Worlds Vanity and Inconſtancy.

God ſees it fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends and Freedom, that I may be wholly His, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black liſt of Irreligious and Sacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare my Soul in ſin, nor gain that of Me which may make my Enemies more inſolent, my Friends aſhamed, or my Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſe to triumph that they have got my Perſon into their power, ſince my Soul is ſtill My own: nor ſhall they ever gain my Conſent againſt my Conſcience.

What they call Obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt Conſtancy, from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counſellors with Me, but a good Conſcience in Me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to my Parliament, till they had brought my Mind to their obedience.

Should

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh Me; not more a King, and far leſs both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it have as little of Safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of Danger.

The Fear of men ſhall never be my Snare, nor ſhall the love of any Liberty entangle my Soul: Better others betray Me than My ſelf, and that the price of my Liberty ſhould be my Conſcience. The greateſt Injuries my Enemies ſeek to inflict upon Me cannot be without My own Conſent.

While I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their Malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily what I have already granted, nor what to require more of Me but this, that I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy My ſelf and Mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy Me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe Me.

Neither Liberty nor Life are ſo dear to Me as the Peace of my Conſcience, the Honour of my Crowns, and the welfare of my People; which my Word may injure more than any War can do, while I gratifie a few to oppreſs all.

The Laws will, by God's bleſſing, revive, with the Love and Loyalty of my Subjects, if I bury them not by my Conſent, and

and cover them in that grave of diſhonour and injuſtice which ſome mens Violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or Death muſt be the price of their Redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carries not with it his Souls, his Peoples, and Poſterities Thraldom.

After-times may ſee what the Blindneſs of this Age will not; and God may at length ſhew my Subjects, that I choſe rather to ſuffer for them than with them. Haply I might redeem My ſelf to ſome ſhew of Liberty, if I would conſent to enſlave them. I had rather hazard the Ruine of one King, than to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whoſe Solitude hath not left Me alone.

FOR Thou, O God, infinitely good and great, art with Me, whoſe preſence is better than Life, and whoſe Service is perfect Freedom.

Own Me for thy Servant, and I ſhall never have cauſe to complain for want of that Liberty which becomes a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſs Me ſtill with Reaſon as a Man, with Religion as a Chriſtian, and with Conſtancy in Juſtice as a King.

Though Thou ſuffereſt Me to be ſtript of all outward Ornaments, yet preſerve Me ever in

those enjoyments wherein I may enjoy Thy self, and which cannot be taken from Me against my will.

Let no fire of Affliction boyl over my Passion to any Impatience or sordid Fears.

There be many say of Me, there is no help for Me: do Thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon Me, and I shall never want Safety, Liberty, nor Majesty.

Give Me that measure of Patience and Constancy which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Person restrained: O be not Thou far from Me, lest my Enemies prevail too much against Me.

I am become a wonder and a scorn to many: O be Thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon Me for good, that they that hate Me may be ashamed, because Thou, Lord, hast holpen and comforted Me. Establish Me with thy free Spirit, that I may do and suffer thy will, as Thou wouldst have Me.

Be merciful to Me, O Lord, for my Soul trusteth in Thee: yea and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these Calamities be over-past.

Arise to deliver Me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though Thou killest Me, yet will I trust in thy Mercy and my Saviours Merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth: though Thou leadest Me through the vale and shadow of Death, yet shall I fear none ill.

Upon

XXIV.

Upon their denying his Majeſty *the attendance of His Chaplains,* Viz. *Dr.* Juxon, *Biſhop of* London; *Dr.* Duppa, *Biſhop of* Salisbury; *Dr.* Sheldon, *Dr.* Hammond, *Dr.* Holdſworth, *Dr.* Sanderſon, *Dr.* Turner, *Dr.* Heywood.

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive Me of all other civil Comforts and ſecular Attendants, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt be ſupplied by the attendance of ſome of my Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their Learning, Piety and Prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in God's good time: ſo reaping by their Pious help a ſpiritual harveſt of Grace, amidſt the thorns and after the plowings of temporal Croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly Pious and ſoberly Devout.

The Solitude they have confined Me unto adds the Wilderneſs to my Temptations: For the company they obtrude upon Me is more ſad than any Solitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my Power of the *Militia*, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had

been no wonder to have been denied in thoſe things, where the evil Policy of men forbids all juſt reſtitution, leſt they ſhould confeſs an injurious Uſurpation: But to deny Me the Ghoſtly comfort of my Chaplains, ſeems a greater Rigor and Barbarity than is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners and greateſt Malefactors; whom though the Juſtice of the Law deprives of worldly comforts, yet the Mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to deſtroy their Bodies and to damn their Souls.

But My Agony muſt not be relieved with the preſence of any one good Angel; for ſuch I account a Learned, Godly, and diſcreet Divine: and ſuch I would have all mine to be.

They that envy my being a King, are loth I ſhould be a Chriſtian; while they ſeek to deprive Me of all things elſe, they are afraid I ſhould ſave my Soul.

Other ſenſe Charity it ſelf can hardly pick out of thoſe many harſh Repulſes I received, as to that Requeſt ſo often made for the attendance of ſome of my Chaplains.

I have ſometime thought, the Unchriſtianneſs of thoſe denials might ariſe from a diſpleaſure ſome men had to ſee Me prefer My own Divines before their Miniſters: whom though I reſpect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them

them ſo proper for My preſent Comforters or Phyſicians, who have (ſome of them at leaſt) had ſo great an influence in occaſioning theſe Calamities, and inflicting theſe Wounds upon Me.

Nor are the ſobereſt of them ſo apt for that Devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I deſire to bear in thoſe holy Offices to be performed with Me and for Me; ſince their Judgments ſtanding at a diſtance from Me, or in jealouſie of Me, or in oppoſition againſt Me, their Spirits cannot ſo harmoniouſly accord with Mine, or Mine with theirs, either in Prayer or other holy Duties, as is meet and moſt comfortable; whoſe golden Rule and bond of Perfection conſiſts in that of mutual Love and Charity.

Some Remedies are worſe than the Diſeaſe, and ſome Comforters more miſerable than Miſery it ſelf: when, like *Job*'s Friends, they ſeek not to fortifie ones minde with Patience, but perſwade a man, by betraying his own Innocency, to deſpair of God's Mercy; and by juſtifying their Injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands and harden the hearts of Inſolent Enemies.

I am ſo much a friend to all Church-men that have any thing in them beſeeming that Sacred Function, that I have hazarded My own Intereſt chiefly upon Conſcience and Conſtancy to maintain their Rights: whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and un-

der the Sacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; the more I thought it my duty to appear as a Father and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandſomely requited by ſome of them, who may live to repent no leſs for My Sufferings than their own ungrateful Errors, and that injurious Contempt and Meanneſs which they have brought upon their Calling and Perſons.

I pity all of them, I deſpiſe none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of ſome for my ſpecial Attendants, who were beſt approved in My Judgment, and moſt ſutable to My Affection. For I held it better to ſeem undevout, and to hear no mens Prayers, than to be forced, or ſeem to comply with thoſe Petitions to which the Heart cannot conſent, nor the Tongue ſay *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own Underſtanding, or belying his own Soul.

In Devotions I love neither Profane Boldneſs, nor Pious Non-ſenſe; but ſuch an humble and judicious Gravity, as ſhews the Speaker to be at once conſiderate of God's Majeſty, the Churches Honor, and his own Vileneſs; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to ſupplicate the Divine Mercy for himſelf and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with all Prayers that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely, or paſ-

paſſionately; as either wanting Humility to God, or Charity to men, or Reſpect to the Duty.

I confeſs I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch publick Forms of Prayer as are fitted to the Churches and every Chriſtians daily and common neceſſities: becauſe I am by them better aſſured what I may joyn my Heart unto, than I can be of any mans Extemporary ſufficiency; which as I do not wholly exclude from publick occaſions, ſo I allow its juſt liberty and uſe in private and devout retirements, where neither the ſolemnity of the Duty, nor the modeſt regard to others, do require ſo great exactneſs as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of Underſtanding and the fervency of Affection, I hold the main and moſt neceſſary requiſites both in conſtant and occaſional, ſolitary and ſocial Devotions.

So that I muſt needs ſeem to all equal minds, with as much Reaſon to prefer the ſervice of My own Chaplains before that of their Miniſters, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one I have been always educated and exerciſed; in the other I am not yet Catechiſed nor acquainted: And if I were, yet ſhould I not by that, as by any certain Rule and Canon of Devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of moſt

of thoſe men who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe, which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common-prayer ſometimes was by thoſe men, a great part of whoſe piety hung upon that popular pin of railing againſt and contemning the Government and Liturgy of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Væ ſoli*, than to that of *Væ vobis, Hypocritæ*, by ſeeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, *I* am eſteemed by my Deniers ſufficient of My ſelf to diſcharge my Duty to God as a Prieſt, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed *I* think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the ſame Perſon; as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could *I* follow better precedents, if *I* were able, than thoſe two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, than one was for devout Pſalms and Prayers, the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and aſſumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honor, where rightly placed, than any of thoſe the *Roman* Emperors affected from the Nations they ſubdued; it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a ſubjection by the Sword.

Yet

Yet ſince the order of Gods Wiſdom and Providence hath, for the moſt part, always diſtinguiſhed the gifts and offices of Kings and Prieſts, of Princes and Preachers, both in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Churches; I am ſorry to find My ſelf reduced to the neceſſity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For ſuch as ſeek to deprive Me of my Kingly Power and Soveraignty, would no leſs enforce Me to live many months without all Prayers, Sacraments and Sermons, unleſs I become My own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Chriſtian KING, ſo I deſire to enjoy from them the benefit of their Gifts and Prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than My own or other mens, by how much they flow from Minds more enlightned and Affections leſs diſtracted than thoſe which are encumbred with Secular affairs: beſides, I think a greater Bleſſing and acceptableneſs attends thoſe Duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to and within the limits of that calling to which God and the Church have ſpecially deſigned and conſecrated ſome men. And however, as to that Spiritual Government by which the Devout Soul is ſubject to Chriſt, and through his Merits daily offers it ſelf and its ſervices to God, every private believer is a King and a Prieſt, inveſted with the honour of a Royal Prieſthood; yet as to Eccleſiaſtical order and the

outward

outward Polity of the Church, I think confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Prieſt or Preacher, as it will in the State where every one affects to rule as King.

I was always bred to more modeſt and, I think, more Pious Principles: The conſciouſneſs to my Spiritual defects makes Me more prize and deſire thoſe Pious aſſiſtances which holy and good Miniſters, either Biſhops or Presbyters, may afford Me; eſpecially in theſe Extremities to which God hath been pleaſed to ſuffer ſome of my Subjects to reduce Me, ſo as to leave them nothing more but my Life to take from Me; and to leave Me nothing to deſire, which I thought might leſs provoke their Jealouſie and offence to deny Me than this, of having ſome means afforded Me for my Souls comfort and ſupport.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their Learning and Piety, no leſs than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made againſt them but only this, That they may ſeem too able, and too well-affected toward Me and my Service.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I count it the beſt) in which they have forced Me to ſerve My ſelf: though I muſt confeſs, I bear with more grief and impatience the want

want of my Chaplains than of any other my Servants, and next (if not beyond in ſome things) to the being ſequeſtred from my Wife and Children; ſince from theſe indeed more of humane and temporary Affections, but from thoſe more of Heavenly and Eternal Improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the enforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary ſupplies of his Gifts and Graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me, and help my infirmities in Prayer, Reading and Meditation, (as I hope he will) I ſhall need no other either Orator or Inſtructor.

TO Thee therefore, O My God, do I direct my now ſolitary Prayers: What I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my darkneſs, and quicken my dulneſs.

O thou Sun of Righteouſneſs, thou Sacred Fountain of Heavenly Light and Heat, at once clear and warm my Heart, both by inſtructing of Me, and interceding for Me. In Thee is all Fulneſs, from Thee is all Sufficiency, by Thee is all Acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule Me, teach Me, pray in Me, for Me, and be Thou ever with Me.

The ſingle wreſtlings of Jacob *prevailed with Thee in that Sacred Duel, when he had none to ſecond him but Thy ſelf, who didſt aſſiſt him with power to overcome Thee, and by a welcome violence to wreſt a Bleſſing from Thee.*

O look on Me thy Servant in infinite Mercy, whom Thou didſt once bleſs with the joynt and ſociated Devotions of others, whoſe fervency might inflame the coldneſs of my Affections towards Thee; when we went to or met in thy Houſe with the Voice of joy and gladneſs, worſhipping Thee in the unity of Spirits and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect and not improving of thoſe happy Opportunities.

It is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pelican in the wilderneſs, as a Sparrow on the houſe top, and as a Coal ſcattered from all thoſe pious glowings and devout reflections which might beſt kindle, preſerve and encreaſe the holy fire of thy Graces on the Altar of my Heart, whence the ſacrifice of Prayers and incenſe of Praiſes might be duly offered up to Thee.

Yet, O Thou that breakeſt not the bruiſed Reed, *nor quencheſt the ſmoaking* Flax, *do not deſpiſe the weakneſs of my Prayers, nor the ſmotherings of my Soul in this uncomfortable loneneſs, to which I am conſtrained by ſome mens uncharitable denials of thoſe helps which I much want, and no leſs deſire.*

O let the hardneſs of Their Hearts occaſion the ſoftnings of Mine to Thee and for them. Let

their

their Hatred kindle My Love, let their unreaſonable denials of my Religious deſires the more excite my Prayers to Thee. Let their inexorable deafneſs encline thine ear to Me, who art a God eaſie to be entreated: thine Ear is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy Heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy Hand ſhortned, that it cannot help Me thy deſolate Suppliant.

Thou permitteſt men to deprive Me of thoſe outward means which Thou haſt appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar Me from the communion of that inward Grace which Thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make Me ſuch, and Thou wilt teach Me, Thou wilt hear me, Thou wilt help me: the broken and contrite heart, I know, thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord, canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy Meditations, fervent Prayers, and unfeigned Tears, my ſelf to thee, who prepareſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and acceppteſt of me.

Thou, O Lord, didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handful of Meal in the veſſel ſhould not ſpend, nor the little Oyl in the cruiſe fail the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my Soul, which, as a Widow, is now deſolate and forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving Truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory;

mory; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my Heart in this Famine of ordinary and wholſome food, for the refreſhing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuſe, than to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall, rather tormenting than teaching Me; whoſe mouths are proner to bitter Reproaches of me, than to hearty Prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of Truth, how oft they wreſt thy Holy Scriptures to my deſtruction, (which are clear for their Subjection, and my Preſervation:) O let it not be to their Damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long Prayers) have ſought to devour the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not thoſe mens Balms break my head, nor their Cordials oppreſs my heart: I will evermore pray againſt their Wickedneſs.

From the poiſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire and the ſwords of their words, ever deliver Me, O Lord, and all thoſe Loyal and Religious hearts who deſire and delight in the proſperity of my Soul, and who ſeek by their Prayers to relieve this Sadneſs and Solitude of thy Servant, O my King, and my God.

Peniten-

XXV.

Penitential Meditations and Vows in the KING's Solitude at *Holdenby*.

GIve ear to my words, O Lord, conſider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God; for unto Thee will I pray.

I ſaid in mine haſte, I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eyes; nevertheleſs Thou heareſt the voice of my ſupplication, when I cry unto Thee.

If Thou, Lord, ſhouldſt be extream to mark what is done amiſs, who can abide it? But there is Mercy with Thee, that Thou mayeſt be feared; therefore ſhall ſinners fly unto Thee.

I acknowledge my Sins before Thee, which have the aggravation of my Condition; the eminency of my Place adding weight to my Offences.

Forgive, I beſeech Thee, my perſonal and my peoples Sins, which are ſo far Mine, as I have not improved the power Thou gaveſt Me to thy Glory and my Subjects good. Thou haſt now brought Me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a Priſoner to my own Subjects; juſtly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, becauſe in many things I have rebelled againſt Thee.

Though Thou haſt reſtrained my Perſon, yet enlarge my Heart to Thee, and thy Grace towards Me.

I come far ſhort of David's *Piety; yet ſince*

I may equal David's *Afflictions, give Me alſo the Comforts and the ſure Mercies of* David.

Let the penitent ſenſe I have of my Sins be an evidence to Me that Thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the Evils which I and my Kingdomes have ſuffered ſeem little unto Thee, though Thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our Sins.

Turn Thee (O Lord) unto Me; have mercy upon Me, for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The ſorrows of my Heart are enlarged; O bring Thou Me out of my Troubles.

Haſt Thou forgotten to be gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindneſs in diſpleaſure?

O remember thy Compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindneſſes which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to ſee thy Goodneſs in the land of the living.

Let not the ſins of our Proſperity deprive us of the benefit of thy Afflictions.

Let this fiery trial conſume the droſs which in long Peace and Plenty we had contracted.

Though Thou continueſt Miſeries, yet withdraw not thy Grace; what is wanting of Proſperity, make up in Patience and Repentance.

And if thy Anger be not yet to be turned away, but thy hand of Juſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtill; let it, I beſeech Thee, be againſt Me and my Fathers houſe: as for theſe Sheep what have they done?

Let my Sufferings ſatiate the malice of Mine and thy Churches Enemies.

But

But let their Cruelty never exceed the measure of My Charity.

Baniſh from Me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor Thou the glory of my Patience.

As Thou giveſt Me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech Thee do Thou forgive what they have done againſt Thee and Me.

And now, O Lord, as Thou haſt given Me an heart to pray unto Thee, ſo hear and accept this Vow which I make before Thee.

If Thou wilt in mercy remember Me and my Kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy Goſpel, and ſetling thy true Religion among us;

In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Juſtice;

In ſuppreſſing the many Schiſms in Church, and Factions in State:

If Thou wilt reſtore Me and Mine to the ancient Rights and Glory of my Predeceſſors:

If Thou wilt turn the hearts of my People to Thy ſelf in Piety, to Me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity:

If Thou wilt quench the flames and withdraw the fewel of theſe Civil Wars.

If Thou wilt bleſs us with the freedom of publick Counſels, and deliver the Honor of Parliaments from the inſolency of the Vulgar:

If Thou wilt keep Me from the great offence of enacting any thing againſt my Conſcience; and eſpecially from conſenting to Sacrilegious Rapines and ſpoilings of thy Church:

If Thou wilt reſtore Me to a capacity to glorifie Thee, in doing good both to the Church and State;

Then ſhall my Soul praiſe Thee, and magnifie thy Name before my People:

Then ſhall thy Glory be dearer to Me than my Crowns, and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefeſt care:

Then will I rule my people with Juſtice, and my Kingdoms with Equity.

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever owe, as the rightful Succeſſion, ſo the merciful Reſtauration of my Kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If Thou wilt bring Me again with Peace, Safety and Honor, to my chiefeſt City and my Parliament:

If Thou wilt again put the Sword of Juſtice into my hand, to puniſh and protect:

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and my very Enemies to enjoy, the benefit of this Vow and Reſolution of Chriſtian Charity which I now make unto Thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon, for Chriſts ſake, thoſe that have offended Me in any kind; ſo my hand ſhall never be againſt any man, to revenge what is paſt, in regard of any particular injury done to Me.

We have been mutually puniſhed in our unnatural Diviſions; for thy ſake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purpoſed this in my heart, That I will uſe all means in the ways of

of Amneſty and Indemnity, which may moſt fully remove all Fears, and bury all Jealouſies in forgetfulneſs.

Let thy Mercies be toward Me and Mine, as my reſolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Hear my Prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Bleſſed be God, who hath not turned away my Prayer, nor taken his Mercy from Me.

O my Soul, commit thy way to the Lord; truſt in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſs.

But if Thou wilt not reſtore Me and Mine, what am I that I ſhould charge Thee fooliſhly?

Thou, O Lord, haſt given, and thou haſt taken; Bleſſed be thy Name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by Me, yet without Me.

XXVI.

Upon the Armies Surprizal of the KING *at* Holdenby, *and the enſuing Diſtractions in the Two Houſes, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have Me now to act or ſuffer in this new and ſtrange ſcene of affairs I am not much ſolicitous: ſome little practice will ſerve that man who only ſeeks to repreſent a part of Honeſty and Honor.

This ſurprize of Me tells the World, that

a KING cannot be ſo low but he is conſiderable, adding weight to that Party where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, ſeems eccentrick and irregular, yet not well to be reſiſted or quieted: Better ſwim down ſuch a ſtream, than in vain to ſtrive againſt it.

Theſe are but the ſtruglings of thoſe Twins which lately one Wombe encloſed, the younger ſtriving to prevail againſt the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now ſeek to catch for themſelves.

So impoſſible is it for lines to be drawn from the Center, and not to divide from each other ſo much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* ſhould from Diviſion fall to Confuſion is no wonder; but for thoſe that pretend to build *Jeruſalem* to divide their Tongues and Hands, is but an ill *omen*, and ſounds too like the fury of thoſe Zealots, whoſe inteſtine bitterneſs and diviſions were the greateſt occaſion of the laſt fatal deſtruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Priſon, but not my captive Condition; only with this hope of bettering, that thoſe who are ſo much profeſſed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly againſt the Liberty of their KING: What they demand

mand for their own Conſciences, they cannot in reaſon deny to Mine.

In this they ſeem more ingenuous than the Presbyterian Rigour, who ſometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to Laws, are become the greateſt Exactors of other mens ſubmiſſion to their novel injunctions before they are ſtamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without My Conſent.

'Tis a great argument that the Independents think themſelves manumitted from their Rivals ſervice, in that they carry on a buſineſs of ſuch conſequence as the aſſuming my Perſon into the Armies cuſtody, without any Commiſſion but that of their own Will and Power. Such as will thus adventure on a KING, muſt not be thought over-modeſt or timorous to carry on any deſign they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces and ſcares both the Two Houſes and the City: which ſoon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both, and ſee their former Sin in the glaſs of the preſent Terrors and Diſtractions.

No man is ſo blind as not to ſee herein the hand of Divine Juſtice: they that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſin, but add ſin to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former. Such as were content to ſee Me and many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Army, or defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens Juſtice? The Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew (as My ſelf was forced to do) from the rudeneſs of the Tumults, were counted Deſertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament: ſuch as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the only Parliament-men. Now the Fliers from and Forſakers of their Places carry the Parliamentary power along with them, complain highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary inſolencies, and betrayers of the freedom and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order and Law; where men look more to preſent Advantages than their Conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice: while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good, the Authors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious Inſolencies; whenas before they

they were counted as Friends and neceſſary Aſſiſtants.

I ſee Vengeance purſues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are ſaid to have done a Biſhop in *Germany*) them that thought to have eſcaped, and fortified themſelves moſt impregnably againſt it both by their Multitude and Compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will puniſh by their own Crimes and hands.

I cannot but obſerve this Divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pity; for I always wiſhed ſo well to Parliament and City, that I was ſorry to ſee them do or ſuffer any thing unworthy ſuch great and conſiderable Bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to ſee them onely ſcared and humbled, not broken by that ſhaking: I never had ſo ill a thought of thoſe Cities as to deſpair of their Loyalty to Me; which Miſtakes might eclipſe, but I never believed Malice had quite put out.

I pray God the Storm be yet wholly paſſed over them; upon whom I look, as Chriſt did ſometime over *Jeruſalem*, as objects of my Prayers and Tears, with compaſſionate Grief, foreſeeing thoſe ſeverer ſcatterings which will certainly befall ſuch as wantonly refuſe to be gathered to their Duty: fatal blindneſs frequently attending and puniſhing wilfulneſs, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their Sorrows, who would

not timely repent of their Sins; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the Comforts, who ſecurely neglect the Counſels belonging to their Peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not far from becoming inſolent Enemies; there being nothing harder than to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it poſſible to gain a fair period for thoſe motions which go rather in a round and circle of Fancy, than in a right line of Reaſon tending to the Law, the onely Center of publick conſiſtency; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are to be ſubject to the known Laws, than to the various Wills of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant ways, like violent motions in Nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſs: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable as they act according to Souldiers Principles and Intereſts, demanding Pay and Indemnity) I think it neceſſary, in order to the Publick Peace, that they ſhould be ſatisfied as far as is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them than My ſelf: though they have fought againſt Me, yet I cannot but ſo far

ſar eſteem that Valour and Gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch men to maintain My ſelf, my Laws, and my Kingdoms, in ſuch a Peace as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion as much as any men.

BUT Thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a Sacred Trinity, in Mercy behold thoſe whom thy Juſtice hath divided.

Deliver Me from the ſtrivings of my People, and make Me to ſee how much they need my Prayers and Pity, who agreed to fight againſt Me, and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another, to the continuance of my Kingdoms Diſtractions.

Diſcover to all ſides the ways of Peace from which they have ſwerved: which conſiſts not in the divided Wills of Parties, but in the joynt and due obſervation of the Laws.

Make Me willing to go whither Thou wilt lead Me by thy Providence; and be Thou ever with Me, that I may ſee thy Conſtancy in the worlds variety and Changes.

Make Me even ſuch as Thou wouldſt have Me, that I may at laſt enjoy that Safety and Tranquillity which Thou alone canſt give Me.

Divert, I pray Thee, O Lord, thy heavy Wrath juſtly hanging over thoſe populous Cities, whoſe Plenty is prone to add fewel to their Luxury, their Wealth to make them wanton, their Multitudes tempting them to Security, and their

Security

Security expoſing them to unexpected Miſeries.

Give them eyes to ſee, hearts to conſider, wills to embrace, and courage to act thoſe things which belong to thy Glory and the publick Peace; leſt their Calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, that they cannot want Enemies who abound in Sin; nor ſhall they be long un-diſarmed and un-deſtroyed, who with a high hand perſiſting to fight againſt Thee and the clear convictions of their own Conſciences, fight more againſt themſelves than ever they did againſt Me.

Their Sins expoſing them to thy Juſtice, their Riches to others Injuries, their Number to Tumults, and their Tumults to Confuſion.

Though they have with much forwardneſs helped to deſtroy Me, yet let not My Fall be their Ruine.

Let Me not ſo much conſider either what they have done or I have ſuffered, (chiefly at firſt by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their Ignorance for their Pardon; and in my dying extremities to pray to Thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied Me in my ſaddeſt condition, give them grace to beſtow upon themſelves; who the leſs they weep for Me, the more cauſe they have to weep for themſelves.

O let not my Bloud be upon them and their Children, whom the Fraud and Faction of ſome, not the Malice of all, have excited to crucifie Me.

But

But Thou, O Lord, canſt and wilt (as Thou didſt my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect Me by my Sufferings, which have more in them of thy Mercy, than of mans Cruelty or thy own Juſtice.

To



Augustissimi CAROLI Secundi Dei
Gratia ANGLIÆ SCOTIÆ
FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REX.
Bona agere & mala pati Regum est

XXVII.

To the PRINCE *of* Wales.

SON, if theſe Papers, with ſome others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of my Conſcience, and my moſt impartial thoughts touching the chief paſſages which have been moſt remarkable or diſputed in my late Troubles, come to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſign'd, they may be ſo far uſeful to You, as to ſtate your Judgment aright in what hath paſſed; whereof a Pious is the beſt uſe can be made: and they may alſo give You ſome directions, how to remedy the preſent Diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is ſome kind of deceiving and leſſening the injury of my long Reſtraint, when I find my leiſure and Solitude have produced ſomething worthy of My ſelf and uſeful to You; that neither You nor any other may hereafter meaſure my Cauſe by the Succeſs, nor my Judgment of things by my Misfortunes: which I count the greater by far, becauſe they have ſo far lighted upon You, and ſome others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love as well as My ſelf, and of whoſe unmerited Sufferings

Sufferings I have a greater ſenſe than of Mine own.

But this advantage of Wiſdom You have above moſt Princes, that You have begun, and now ſpent ſome years of Diſcretion in the experience of Troubles and exerciſe of Patience; wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Moral and Political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees ſet in Winter, than in the warmth and ſerenity of times, or amidſt thoſe Delights which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of Peace and Plenty; which are prone either to root up all Plants of true Vertue and Honor, or to be contented only with ſome Leaves and withering Formalities of them, without any real Fruits, ſuch as tend to the Publick good, for which Princes ſhould always remember they are born, and by Providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different Education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam:* the one prepared by many Afflictions for a flouriſhing Kingdom; the other ſoftned by the unparallel'd proſperity of *Solomon*'s Court, and ſo corrupted, to the great diminution both for Peace, Honor and Kingdom, by thoſe Flatteries which are as unſeparable from proſperous Princes as Flies are from Fruit in Summer, whom Adverſity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather You ſhould be *Charles le Bon* than

than *le Grand*, Good than Great; I hope God hath deſigned You to be both, having ſo early put You into that exerciſe of his Graces and Gifts beſtowed upon You, which may beſt weed out all vitious inclinations, and diſpoſe You to thoſe Princely Endowments and Employments which will moſt gain the love and intend the welfare of thoſe over whom God ſhall place You.

With God I would have You begin and end, who is King of Kings, the Soveraign Diſpoſer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down one and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government and higheſt Soveraignty You can attain to is, to be ſubject to Him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your Heart.

The true Glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing God's Glory, in the maintenance of true Religion and the Churches good; alſo in the diſpenſation of Civil Power with Juſtice and Honor to the publick Peace.

Piety will make You proſperous; at leaſt it will keep You from being miſerable: nor is he much a loſer that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own Soul at laſt.

To which center of true Happineſs, God (I truſt) hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of Affliction which he hath been pleaſed to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn Me nearer to Himſelf.

ſelf. You have already taſted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as God's Phyſick, having that in Healthfulneſs which it wants in Pleaſure.

Above all, I would have You, as I hope You are already, well grounded and ſetled in your Religion: the beſt Profeſſion of which I have ever eſteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which You have been educated; Yet I would have your own Judgment and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred Bond which Education hath written, that it may be judiciouſly your own Religion, and not other mens Cuſtom or Tradition, which You profeſs.

In this I charge You to perſevere, as coming neareſt to God's Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with ſome little Amendment, which I have other-where expreſſed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more neceſſary for your Souls than your Kingdoms Peace, when God ſhall bring You to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Devil of Rebellion doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angel of Reformation, and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights. When ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion; when Piety pleads for Peace and Patience, they cry out Zeal.

So that unleſs in this point You be well ſetled,

ſetled, You ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy You and Yours, under pretenſions of Reforming matters of Religion; for that ſeems, even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt Deſigns.

Where beſides the Novelty, which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought Zealous; hoping to cover thoſe Irreligious deformities whereto they are conſcious, by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgment, and the Church well ſetled. Your partial adhering, as Head, to any one ſide, gains You not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loſeth You in others, who think themſelves and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by You. Take ſuch a courſe as may either with Calmneſs and Charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality; or ſo order affairs in point of Power, that You ſhall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever You ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſie, You are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove.

You may never expect leſs of Loyalty, Juſtice, or Humanity, than from thoſe who engage into Religious Rebellion: Their Intereſt is always made God's; under the colours of Piety ambitious Policies march, not only with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the populacy: You may hear from them *Jacob*'s voice, but You ſhall feel they have *Eſau*'s hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſs conſiderable than the Presbyterian Faction in *England* for many years, ſo compliant they were to publick Order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church or State, as to mens Judgments. But as ſoon as Diſcontents drave men into Sidings, as ill Humors fall to the diſaffected part, which cauſeth Inflammations, ſo did all at firſt who affected any Novelties adhere to that Side, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Presbytery, their great Maſter: till Time and Military ſucceſs diſcovering to each their peculiar Advantages, invited them to part ſtakes, and leaving the joynt ſtock of Uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of Profits and Preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have ingroſſed all.

Let

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to You in matters which concern Religion and the Churches Peace; ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming and effectual ſuppreſſing Errors and Schiſms, which ſeem at firſt but as a hand-breath, yet by Seditious Spirits, as by ſtrong winds, are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When You have done Juſtice to God, Your own Soul, and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of Truth and Unity in Religion; the next main hinge on which your Proſperity will depend and move is that of Civil Juſtice, wherein the ſetled Laws of theſe Kingdoms, to which You are rightly Heir, are the moſt excellent Rules You can govern by: which by an admirable temperament, give very much to Subjects Induſtry, Liberty and Happineſs, and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty and Prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as Slaves: whoſe Subjection, as it preſerves their Property, Peace and Safety, ſo it will never diminiſh Your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties, which conſiſt in the enjoyment of the fruits of their Induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Laws to which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge your head with ſuch a Crown as ſhall by its heavineſs oppreſs the whole Body; the weakneſs of whoſe parts cannot return any thing of ſtrength, honor or ſafety

to the Head, but a neceſſary debilitation and Ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed and exerciſed in remitting, rather than exacting the rigor of the Laws; there being nothing worſe than Legal Tyranny.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my Sufferings, as to the worlds cenſure, into the honor of a kind of Martyrdom, as to the teſtimony of My own Conſcience; the Troublers of my Kingdoms having nothing elſe to object againſt Me but this, That I prefer Religion and Laws eſtabliſht before thoſe Alterations they propounded.

And ſo indeed I do and ever ſhall, till I am convinced by better Arguments than what hitherto have been chiefly uſed towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learn that Leſſon, nor I hope ever will You, That it is ſafe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the Perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrap'd up the publick Intereſt and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me as to the removal of theſe Preſſures and Indignities, which his Juſtice by the very unjuſt hands of ſome of my Subjects hath been pleaſed to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much ſolicitous what Wrong I ſuffer from men, while I retain in my Soul what *I* believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety that in Reaſon, Honour and Conſcience I can; reſerving only what I cannot conſent unto without an irreparable injury to my own Soul, the Church, and my People, and to You alſo, as the next and undoubted Heir of my Kingdoms.

To which if the Divine Providence, to whom no Difficulties are inſuperable, ſhall in his due time after My deceaſe bring You, as I hope he will, my Counſel and Charge to You is, that You ſeriouſly conſider the former real or objected Miſcarriages which might occaſion My Troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repoſe ſo much upon any mans ſingle Counſel, Fidelity, and Diſcretion, in managing affairs of the firſt magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Juſtice) as to create in Your ſelf or others a diffidence of Your own Judgment, which is likely to be always more conſtant and impartial to the intereſts of your Crown and Kingdom than any mans.

Next, beware of exaſperating any Factions by the croſneſs and aſperity of ſome mens Paſſions, Humours, or private Opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in leſſer matters, which are but the skirts and ſuburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable Connivence and Chriſtian Toleration often diſſipates their

ſtrength whom rougher oppoſition fortifies, and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed Party into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their Perſecutors; who are commonly aſſiſted by that Vulgar commiſeration which attends all that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the Differences amount not to an inſolent oppoſition of Laws and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentials of them: Such motions and minings are intolerable.

Always keep up ſolid Piety, and thoſe Fundamental Truths which mend both hearts and lives of men, with impartial Favour and Juſtice.

Take heed that outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devour not all or the beſt incouragements of Learning, Induſtry and Piety; but with an equal eye and impartial hand diſtribute favours and rewards to all men, as You find them for their real Goodneſs, both in Abilities and Fidelity, worthy and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gain You the hearts of the beſt, and the moſt too; who, though they be not good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer ways of Vertue at any time ſweetned by temporal rewards.

I have, You ſee, conflicted with different and oppoſite Factions; (for ſo I muſt needs call

call and count all thoſe that act not in any conformity to the Laws eſtabliſhed in Church and State:) No ſooner have they by force ſubdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all thoſe that adhered to the Laws and to Me) and are ſecured from that fear, but they are divided to ſo high a rivalty, as ſets them more at defiance againſt each other than againſt their firſt Antagoniſts.

Time will diſſipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious deſigns ſhall diſcover themſelves, which were at firſt wrap'd up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretenſions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty. As the Wolf is not leſs cruel, ſo he will be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appear no better than a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the ſeduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicity follow thoſe diſguiſes, My charge and counſel to You is, That as You need no palliations for any deſigns, (as other men) ſo that You ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of Goodneſs, Piety and Vertue, towards the People) even all thoſe men that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion: ſo You ſhall neither fear any detection, (as they do who have but the face and mask of Goodneſs;) nor ſhall You fruſtrate

ſtrate the juſt expectations of your People, who cannot in reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects Novelties, as from the vertuous Conſtancy of their King.

When theſe mountains of congealed Factions ſhall by the Sun-ſhine of Gods Mercy and the ſplendor of Your Vertues be thawed and diſſipated, and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, that none are greater Oppreſſors of their Eſtates, Liberties and Conſciences, than thoſe men that entitle themſelves the Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to uſurp power over them; let then no Paſſion betray You to any ſtudy of Revenge upon thoſe whoſe own Sin and Folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoon as the forked arrow of factious Emulations is drawn out, uſe all Princely arts and Clemency to heal the Wounds; that the ſmart of the Cure may not equal the anguiſh of the Hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion to ſo great a latitude, as may include all that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might ſerve to exclude all future Jealouſies and Inſecurities.

I would have You always propenſe to the ſame way; whenever it ſhall be deſired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an Act of State-policy and Neceſſity, but of Chriſtian Charity and Choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive thoſe that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God I have a heart to do it, and joy as much in this Grace which God hath given Me, as in all my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of God's love to Me than any Proſperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides who have done amiſs, have done ſo not out of Malice, but Miſ-information, or Miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyal and faithful to Me and You than thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errors and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls moſt vehement motives to Repentance, and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality ſets You beyond any Duel with any Subject; ſo the Nobleneſs of your Mind muſt raiſe You above the meditating any Revenge, or executing your Anger upon the many.

The more conſcious You ſhall be to Your own Merits upon your People, the more prone You will be to expect all Love and Loyalty from them, and to inflict no Puniſhment upon them for former Miſcarriages: You will have more inward complacency in Pardoning one than in Puniſhing a thouſand.

This

This I write to You, not deſpairing of God's Mercy and my Subjects affections towards You; both which I hope You will ſtudy to deſerve, yet we cannot merit of God but by his own Mercy.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore Me, and You after Me, to thoſe enjoyments which the Laws have aſſigned to Us, and no Subjects without an high degree of Guilt and Sin can diveſt Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I ſhall be ſo happy to ſee you in Peace, to let you more fully underſtand the things that belong to God's Glory, your own Honour, and the Kingdoms Peace.

But if you never ſee my face again, and God will have Me buried in ſuch a barbarous Impriſonment and Obſcurity, (which the perfecting ſome mens Deſigns requires) wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word or a look with Me; I do require and entreat you as your Father and your KING, that you never ſuffer your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell you, I have tried it, and after much ſearch and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt in the world; not onely in the Community, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpecial notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way, between the pomp of Superſti-

tious

tious Tyranny, and the meanneſs of Fantaſtick Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good Figures, may haply need ſome ſweetning or poliſhing; which might here have eaſily been done by a ſafe and gentle hand, if ſome mens Precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude Alterations as would have quite deſtroyed all the Beauty and Proportions of the whole.

The ſcandal of the late Troubles, which ſome may object and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them or your own thoughts in this, That ſcarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Proſecutor of this late War againſt the Church, the Laws and Me, either was or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch Rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch Examples.

'Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſs to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execution. But let not counterfeit and diſorderly Zeal abate your value and eſteem of true Piety: both of them are to be *known by their fruits*. The ſweetneſs of the

Vine

Vine and Fig-tree is not to be deſpiſed, though the Brambles and Thorns ſhould pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any averſation or diſlike of Parliaments; which in their right conſtitution, with Freedom and Honour, will never injure or diminiſh your Greatneſs; but will rather be as interchangings of Love, Loyalty and Confidence between a Prince and his People.

Nor would the events of this Black Parliament have been other than ſuch (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the Inſolencies of Popular dictates and Tumultuary impreſſions: The ſad effects of which will, no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that Freedom and Honour which belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment,) ſince the Publick Intereſt conſiſts in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave and honourable ways to contribute their Counſels in common, enacting all things by publick conſent, without Tyranny or Tumults. We muſt not ſtarve our ſelves, becauſe ſome men have ſurfeited of wholeſom food.

And

And if neither I nor You be ever reſtored to Our rights, but God in his ſevereſt Juſtice will puniſh my Subjects with continuance in their Sin, and ſuffer them to be deluded with the proſperity of their Wickedneſs; I hope God will give Me and You that grace, which will teach and enable Us to want as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up or enjoying upon forbid, diſhonourable and irreligious terms.

Keep You to true Principles of Piety, Vertue and Honour, You ſhall never want a Kingdom.

A Principal point of your Honour will conſiſt in your conferring all Reſpect, Love and Protection on your Mother, My Wife; who hath many ways deſerved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to bleſs Me with ſo many hopeful Children, all which, with their Mother, I recommend to your Love and Care) She hath been content, with incomparable Magnanimity and Patience, to ſuffer both for and with Me and You.

My Prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My own Innocency and his Grace) that he would be pleaſed to make you an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer, by your Wiſdom, Juſtice, Piety and Valour, of what the Folly and

and Wickedneſs of ſome men have ſo far ruined, as to leave nothing intire in Church or State, to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy or the Commons, either as to Laws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience, or Lives.

When they have deſtroyed Me (for I know not how far God may permit the Malice and Cruelty of my Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but my Bloud will cry aloud for Vengeance to Heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to pour out his Wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deſerted Me, or ingaged againſt Me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders, whoſe inward Horror will be their firſt Tormentor, nor will they eſcape exemplary Judgments.

For thoſe that loved Me, I pray God they may have no miſs of Me when I am gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope that all good Subjects may be ſatisfied with the Bleſſings of your Preſence and Vertues.

For thoſe that repent of any defects in their Duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Chriſtian King; ſo I believe You will find them truly zealous to repay with intereſt that Loyalty and Love to you which was due to Me.

In ſumm, what Good I intended, do you perform, when God ſhall give you Power.

Much

Much Good I have offered, more I purpoſed to Church and State, if Times had been capable of it.

The deception will ſoon vaniſh, and the Vizards will fall off apace: This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for ſo it now plainly appears, ſince my Reſtraint and cruel uſage, that they fought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long ſerve to hide ſome mens Deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein your Subjects (by their Miſeries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God and Loyalty to their King cannot be parted without both their Sin and their Infelicity.*

I pray God bleſs You, and eſtabliſh your Kingdoms in Righteouſneſs, your Soul in true Religion, and your Honor in the Love of God and your People.

And if God will have Diſloyalty perfected by My Deſtruction, let my Memory ever with my Name live in You, as of your Father that loves You, and once a KING of Three flouriſhing Kingdomes; whom God thought fit to honor not only with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the ſuffering many Indignities and an untimely Death for them, while I ſtudied to preſerve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honor of my Crown, the Privilege of Parliaments, the Liberties of my People, and My own Conſcience; which, I thank

thank God, is dearer to Me than a thouſand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will reſtore Me to my Rights: I cannot deſpair either of his Mercy, or of my Peoples Love and Pity.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe Mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewel, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

XXVIII.

Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and his MAJESTIES *cloſer Impriſonment in* Carisbrook Caſtle.

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more than enough to meditate upon, and prepare for my Death; for I know there are but few ſteps between the Priſons and Graves of Princes.

It is God's indulgence which gives Me the ſpace, but Mans Cruelty that gives Me the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of Mortality, which lies upon Me as a Man, I now bear the heavy load of other mens Ambitions, Fears, Jealouſies, and cruel Paſſions, whoſe

whoſe Envy or Enmity againſt Me makes their own lives ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, my Proſperity made Me not wholly a ſtranger to the contemplations of Mortality: Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is always uncertain: Death being an Eclipſe which oft happeneth as well in clear as cloudy days.

But my now long and ſharp Adverſity hath ſo reconciled in Me thoſe natural Antipathies between Life and Death which are in all men, that, I thank God, the common terrors of it are diſpelled, and the ſpecial horror of it as to My particular much allayed: for although my Death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to Me with all thoſe terrible aggravations which the policy of Cruel and Implacable enemies can put upon it (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of Malice;) yet, I bleſs God, I can look upon all thoſe ſtings as unpoiſonous, though ſharp, ſince my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the Antidote of his Death againſt them; which as to the Immaturity, Unjuſtice, Shame, Scorn and Cruelty of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find ſo much the Life of Religion, the Feaſt of a good Conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious Integrity and Conſtancy, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old as to be weary of Life; nor (I hope) ſo bad as to be either afraid to dye, or aſhamed to live: true, I am ſo afflicted, as might make Me ſometime even deſire to dye; if I did not conſider, that it is the greateſt glory of a Chriſtians life to *dye daily*, in conquering, by a lively Faith and patient Hopes of a better life, thoſe partial and quotidian deaths which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us overlive our own fates; while we are deprived of Health, Honor, Liberty, Power, Credit, Safety or Eſtate, and thoſe other Comforts of deareſt relations, which are as the Life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My ſelf to live in nothing temporal ſo much as in the Love and good will of my People; for which as I have ſuffered many deaths, ſo I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithſtanding my Enemies have uſed all the poiſon of Falſity and violence of Hoſtility to deſtroy, firſt the Love and Loyalty which is in my Subjects, and then all that content of Life in Me which from theſe I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of Life, and only the husk and ſhell (as it were) which their further Malice and Cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all thoſe worldly Comforts for which Life it ſelf ſeems deſirable to men.

But, O my Soul, think not that Life too long or tedious wherein God gives Thee any oppor-

opportunities, if not to do, yet to ſuffer with ſuch Chriſtian Patience and Magnanimity in a good Cauſe, as are the greateſt Honor of our Lives, and the beſt improvement of our Deaths.

I know that in point of true Chriſtian Valor it argues Puſillanimity to deſire to dye out of wearineſs of life, and a want of that heroick greatneſs of ſpirit which becomes a Chriſtian, in the patient and generous ſuſtaining thoſe Afflictions which as ſhadows neceſſarily attend us while we are in this Body, and which are leſſened or enlarged as the Sun of our Proſperity moves higher or lower; whoſe total abſence is beſt recompenced with the dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of Affliction may be terrible, like *Sampſon*'s Lion, but they yield much ſweetneſs to thoſe that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent or peeviſhneſs, while they may yet converſe with God.

That I muſt dye as a Man is certain: that I may dye a King by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, ſudden and barbarous death, in the ſtrength of my years, in the midſt of my Kingdoms, my Friends and loving Subjects being helpleſs Spectators, my Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God hath taught

Me not to hope otherwiſe as to mans Cruelty; however I deſpair not of God's infinite Mercy.

I know my Life is the object of the Devils and Wicked mens Malice; but yet under God's ſole cuſtody and diſpoſal: whom I do not think to flatter for longer Life, by ſeeming prepared to die; but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will both in life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to Me.

I confeſs it is not eaſie for Me to contend with thoſe many horrors of Death wherewith God ſuffers Me to be tempted; which are equally horrid either in the ſuddenneſs of a barbarous Aſſaſſination, or in thoſe greater formalities whereby my Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruel) will, it may be, ſeek to add (as thoſe did who crucified Chriſt) the Mockery of Juſtice to the Cruelty of Malice. That I may be deſtroyed, as with greater Pomp and artifice, ſo with leſs Pity, it will be but a neceſſary policy, to make my Death appear as an act of Juſtice done by Subjects upon their Soveraign; who know that no Law of God or Man inveſts them with any power of Judicature without Me, much leſs againſt Me; and who, being ſworn and bound by all that is Sacred before God and Man to endeavor my Preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his

his Enemies to be his Accuſers, Parties and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraign; wherein thoſe who have had the chiefeſt hand and are moſt guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, muſt by ſhedding My Blood ſeem to waſh their own hands of that innocent bloud whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and man, and, I believe, in their own Conſciences too; while they carried on unreaſonable demands, firſt by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean ſpirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawful Superiors than this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt Uſurpation*; notwithſtanding thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents, applied only to diſguiſe at firſt the monſtrouſneſs of their deſigns, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlain.

With them my greateſt Fault muſt be, that I would not either deſtroy My ſelf, with the Church and State, by my Word, or not ſuffer them to do it unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous Ambition no Conceſſions of Mine could ever yet either ſatisfie or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think that Kingdom of Brambles, which ſome men ſeek to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſs either to God or man) is like to thrive, till

watered with the Royal Bloud of thoſe whoſe right the Kingdom is.

Well, God's will be done; I doubt not but my Innocency will find him both my Protector and my Advocate, who is my onely Judge, whom I own as King of Kings; not onely for the eminency of his Power and Majeſty above them, but alſo for that ſingular Care and Protection which he hath over them; who knows them to be expoſed to as many Dangers (being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there be either Men or Devils which love Confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the Bones, and cement it with the Bloud of their *KINGS*.

I am confident they will find Avengers of my Death among themſelves: the Injuries *I* have ſuſtained from them, ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing Me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of my Bloud, ſhall make them think no way better to expiate it than by ſhedding theirs who with them moſt thirſted after Mine.

The ſad Confuſions following my Deſtruction are already preſaged and confirmed to Me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince my Troubles, in which God alone (who onely could) hath many ways pleaded my Cauſe; not ſuffering

fering them to go unpuniſhed whoſe Confederacy in Sin was their onely Security; who have cauſe to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual Vengeance afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the Power and Love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallow'd up Death in the Victory of his Reſurrection and the glory of his Aſcenſion.

My next Comfort is, that he gives Me not onely the honour to imitate his Example *in ſuffering for Righteouſneſs ſake*, (though obſcured by the fouleſt charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice) but alſo that Charity, which is the nobleſt Revenge upon and Victory over my Deſtroyers; by which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my Bloud to them, further than to convince them what need they have of Chriſts Bloud to waſh their Souls from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the Will of my Enemies ſeems to be their onely rule, their Power the meaſure, and their Succeſs the exactor of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their own Safety by My Danger, and the ſecurity of their Lives and Deſigns by My Death: forgetting, that as the greateſt temptations to Sin are wrapped up in ſeeming Proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt Vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes.

I bleſs God, I pray not ſo much that this bitter cup of a Violent Death may paſs from Me, as that of his Wrath may paſs from all thoſe whoſe hands by deſerting Me are ſprinkled, or by acting and conſenting to my Death are embrued with my Bloud.

The will of God hath confined and concluded Mine; I ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without any pleaſure of deſired Vengeance.

This I think becomes a Chriſtian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more than I am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from Me; whoſe Mercy, I believe, will more than infinitely recompence whatever by mans Injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive me of.

The glory attending my Death will far ſurpaſs all I could enjoy or conceive in Life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his Graces with Glory, and exchanged the ſhadows of my Earthly Kingdoms among men, for the ſubſtance of that Heavenly Kingdom with Himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world, I know the ſharp and neceſſary Tyranny of my Deſtroyers will ſufficiently confute the Calumnies of Tyranny againſt Me: I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious Love of the ableſt and beſt of my Subjects, who do not onely pity

and

and pray for Me, but would be content even to die with Me or for Me.

These know how to excuse my Failings as a man, and yet to retain and pay their Duty to Me as their KING; there being no Religious necessity binding any Subjects, by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes, especially there where more than sufficient Satisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoyment of which private Ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believe, of softer tempers, and less advantaged by my Ruine, do already feel sharp Convictions, and some remorse in their Consciences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against Me in the measure of God's retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own Thumbs and Toes, having under pretence of paring others Nails been so cruel as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of Divine Justice as is not ordinary; the Earth of the lowest and meanest People opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worse used Authority, upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establish-

eſtabliſhing their Deſigns againſt Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in Death conſiſts in my Peace which, I truſt, is made with God; before whoſe exact Tribunal I ſhall not fear to appear as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword between Me and my cauſleſs Enemies: where I doubt not but his Righteous Judgment will confute their Fallacy, who from worldly Succeſs (rather like Sophiſters than ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular Concluſions for God's Approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe Providence (we know) oft permits many events which his revealed Word (the onely clear, ſafe and fixed Rule of good Actions and good Conſciences) in no ſort approves.

I am confident, the Juſtice of my Cauſe and Clearneſs of my Conſcience before God and toward my People will carry Me as much above them in God's deciſion, as their Succeſſes have lifted them above Me in the Vulgar opinion: who conſider not that many times thoſe undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the proſperity and applauſe of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hell as to the Injuriouſneſs and Oppreſſion of the Deſign. The proſperous winds which oft fill the ſails of Pirats, do not juſtifie their Piracy and Rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worſted in my

my enforced Conteſtation for and Vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and Honour of Parliaments, the Rights of my Crown, the juſt Liberty of my Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due Encouragements, than if I had with the greateſt advantages of Succeſs over-born them all; as ſome men have now evidently done, whatever Deſigns they at firſt pretended.

The Prayers and Patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter Cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more chearfully take, and drink as from God's hand, (if it muſt be ſo) than they can give it to Me whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly lifted up againſt Me.

And as to the laſt event I may ſeem to owe more to my Enemies than my Friends; while thoſe will put a period to the Sins and Sorrows attending this miſerable Life, wherewith theſe deſire I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall be more than Conqueror through Chriſt enabling Me, for whom I have hitherto ſuffered, as he is the Author of Truth, Order and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend againſt Error, Faction and Confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a Violent Death, with my Saviour, it is but Mortality crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of Death which

which I owe for Sin to Nature, ſhall be raiſed as a gift of Faith and Patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept: and although Death be the wages of My own Sin as from God, and the effect of others Sins as men, both againſt God and Me; yet as I hope My own Sins are ſo remitted that they ſhall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my Death, ſo I deſire God to pardon their Sins who are moſt guilty of my Deſtruction.

The Trophees of my Charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed Victories over Me.

Though their Sin be proſperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned. Both which I pray God they may obtain; that my Temporal Death unjuſtly inflicted by them may not be revenged by God's juſt inflicting Eternal Death upon them: for I look upon the Temporal Deſtruction of the greateſt King as far leſs deprecable than the Eternal Damnation of the meaneſt Subject.

Nor do I wiſh other than the ſafe bringing of the Ship to ſhore, when they have caſt Me over-board: though it be very ſtrange, that Mariners can find no other means to appeaſe the Storm themſelves have raiſed, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies Cruelty cannot prevent my Preparation; whoſe Malice in this I ſhall defeat, that they ſhall not have the ſatisfaction to have deſtroyed my Soul with my Body: of whoſe Salvation while ſome of them have themſelves ſeemed and taught others to deſpair, they have onely diſcovered this, that they do not much deſire it.

Whoſe uncharitable and cruel Reſtraints, denying Me even the aſſiſtance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged than any way obſtructed my acceſs to the Throne of Heaven.

WHERE Thou dwelleſt, O King of Kings, who filleſt Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of Eternal Life, in whom is no ſhadow of Death.

Thou, O God, art both the juſt Inflicter of Death upon us, and the merciful Saviour of us in it and from it.

Yea it is better for us to be dead to our ſelves, and live in Thee, than by living in our ſelves to be deprived of Thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my Death, as a Man and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy ſpecial Graces and Comforts in my Soul, as a Chriſtian.

If Thou, Lord, wilt be with Me, I ſhall neither fear nor feel any evil, though I walk through the valley of the ſhadow of Death.

To

To contend with Death, is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcome it, is the Grace of Thee alone, who art the Almighty and Immortal God.

O my Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die with Me as a man, make Me to know what it is to paſs through Death to Life with Thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that Thou my Redeemer liveſt for ever: though Thou ſlayeſt Me, yet Thou haſt incouraged Me to truſt in Thee for Eternal Life.

O withdraw not thy Favour from Me, which is better than Life.

O be not far from Me, for I know not how near a violent and cruel Death is to Me.

As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the Deſigns of thoſe who have, or ſhall conſpire my Deſtruction.

O ſhew Me the goodneſs of thy Will, through the wickedneſs of theirs.

Thou giveſt Me leave, as a man, to pray that this Cup may paſs from Me; but Thou haſt taught Me, as a Chriſtian, by the example of Chriſt, to add, Not My will, but Thine be done.

Yea, Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly reſolving Mine into Thine: let not the deſire of Life in Me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy Will in either Life or Death.

As I believe Thou haſt forgiven all the Errors of my Life, ſo I hope Thou wilt ſave Me from the Terrors of my Death.

Make

Make Me content to leave the Worlds Nothing, that I may come really to enjoy All in Thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto Me in Life Gain, and in Death Advantage.

Though my Deſtroyers forget their Duty to Thee and Me; yet do not Thou, O Lord, forget to be merciful to them.

For what profit is there in my Bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they loſe their own Souls?

Such as have not onely reſiſted my juſt Power, but wholly uſurped and turned it againſt My ſelf, though they may deſerve, yet let them not receive to themſelves Damnation.

Thou madeſt thy Son a Saviour to many that crucified Him, while at once He ſuffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his Blood be heard for My Murtherers, louder than the Cry of Mine againſt them.

Prepare them for thy Mercy by due Convictions of their Sin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls, by fallacious pretenſions of Juſtice in deſtroying Me; while the conſcience of their unjuſt Uſurpation of power againſt Me chiefly tempts them to uſe all extremities againſt Me.

O Lord, Thou knoweſt I have found their Mercies to Me, as very falſe, ſo very cruel; who pretending to preſerve Me, have meditated nothing but my Ruine.

O deal not with them as blood-thirſty and deceitful

ceitful men; but overcome their Cruelty with Thy Compaſſion and My Charity.

And when Thou makeſt inquiſition for my Bloud, O ſprinkle their polluted, yet penitent, Souls with the Bloud of thy Son, that thy deſtroying Angel may paſs over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on Earth too little to entertain at once both them and Me; yet let the capacious Kingdom of thy infinite Mercy at laſt receive both Me and my Enemies.

When being reconciled to Thee in the Bloud of the ſame Redeemer, we ſhall live far above theſe Ambitious deſires, which beget ſuch mortal Enmities.

When their hands ſhall be heavieſt and cruelleſt upon Me, O let Me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternal Mercies.

That what is cut off of my Life in this miſerable moment, may be repayed in thy ever-bleſſed Eternity.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in Peace, for my eyes have ſeen thy Salvation.

Vota dabunt quæ bella negârunt.

THE END.